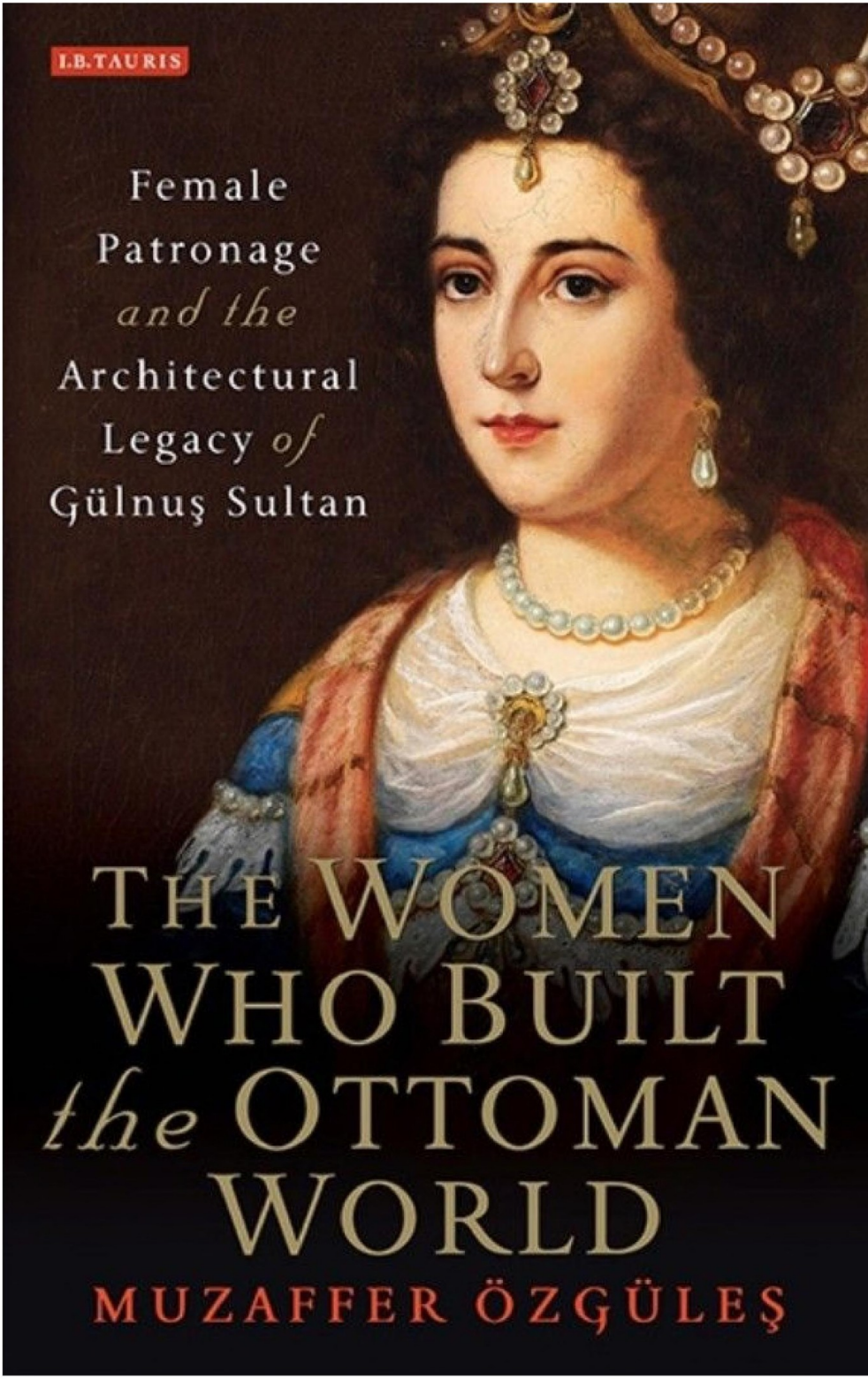
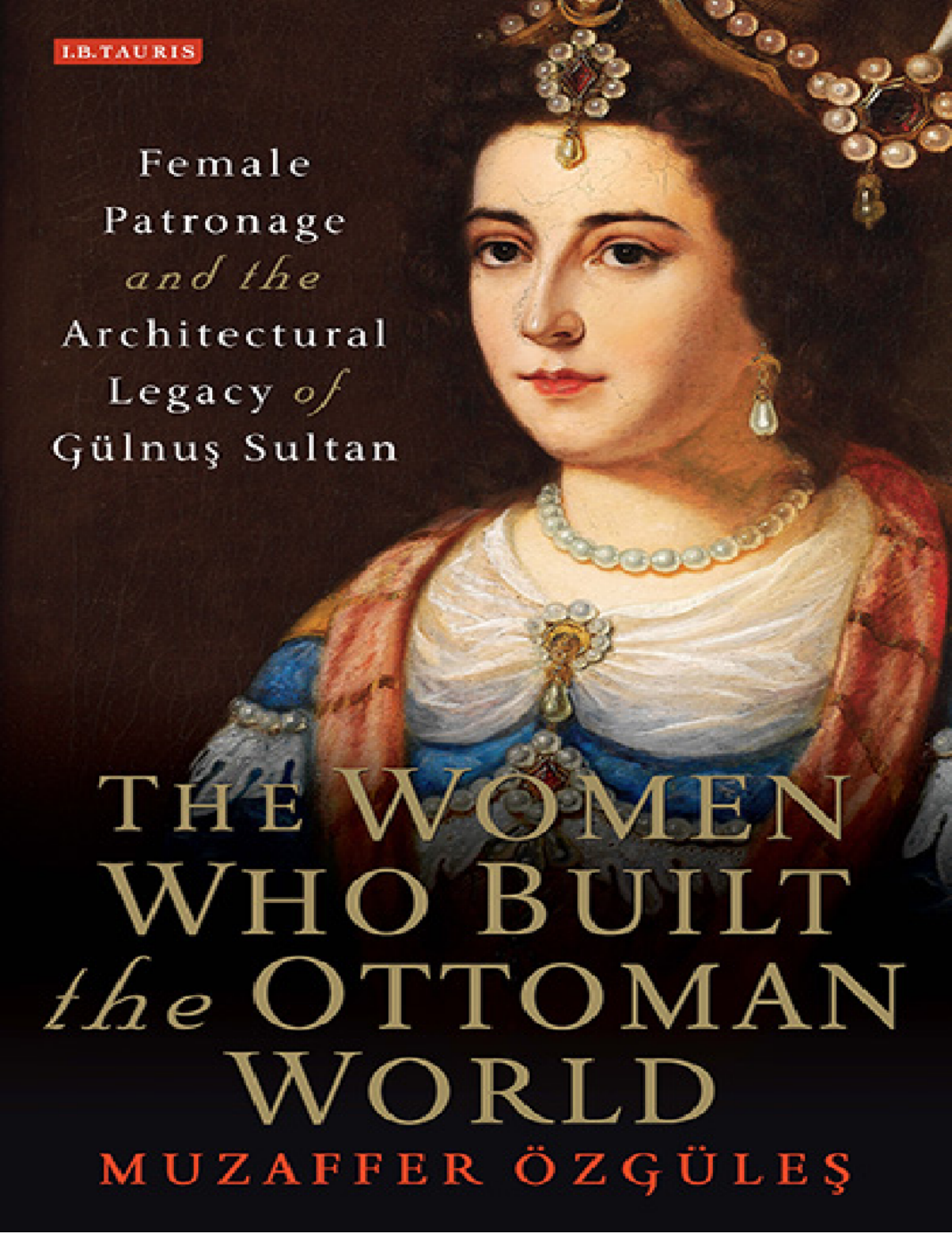

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THE WOMEN WHO BUILT the OTTOMAN WORLD
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Muzaffer Özgüleş is Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Architecture at Gaziantep University, Turkey, and was the Barakat Trust Post-Doctoral Research Fellow at the Khalili Research Centre at the University of Oxford from 2014 to 2015. He gained his PhD in Architectural History at Istanbul Technical University in 2013.

‘In *The Women Who Built the Ottoman World*, Muzaffer Özgüleş brings to life the story of Gülnuş Sultan. He not only presents to the reader a distinct period of early modern Ottoman architectural history under the patronage of the Sultana, but also explores the adventurous life of a fascinating individual.’

Aygül Ağır, Associate Professor, Faculty of Architecture, Istanbul Technical University

THE WOMEN WHO BUILT THE OTTOMAN WORLD

Female Patronage and the Architectural Legacy of Gülnuş Sultan

Muzaffer Özgüleş



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To Zeynep

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. MKT. MVL	Sadaret Mektubi Kalemi Meclis-i Vala Evrakı
A. RSK	Bab-ı Asafi Ruus Kalemi
AH	After Hijra
AE. SAMD. III	Ali Emiri Ahmed III
AE. SMST. II	Ali Emiri Mustafa II
BCA	Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (Prime Ministry Republic Archive)
BEO	Babıali Evrak Odası
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive)
C. BLD	Cevdet Belediye
C. EV	Cevdet Evkaf
C. HR	Cevdet Hariciye
C. MTZ	Cevdet Eyalet-i Mümtaze
C. SH	Cevdet Sıhhiye
C. SM	Cevdet Saray
EV. HMH. d	Evkaf Haremeyn Muhasebeciliği Defterleri
HAT	Hatt-ı Hümâyun
İ. DH	İrade Dahiliye
İ. EV	İrade Evkaf
İE. DH	İbnülemin Dahiliye
İE. ENB	İbnülemin Ensab
İE. EV	İbnülemin Vakıf
İE. HAT	İbnülemin Hatt-ı Hümayun
İE. ML	İbnülemin Maliye
İE. SM	İbnülemin Saray Mesalihi
MAD	Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler
ŞD	Şura-yı Devlet Evrakı
TSMA	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (Topkapı Palace Museum Archive)
TSMA D	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, Defter
TSMA E	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi,

	Evrak
TSMA Y	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, Yazma
TSMK	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (Topkapı Palace Museum Library)
VGMA	Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi (Directorate General of Foundations Archive)
Y. MTV	Yıldız Mütenevvi Maruzat Evrakı
ZB	Zabtiye Nezareti Evrakı

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PART I

OTTOMAN SULTANA:
WIFE, MOTHER AND PATRON

INTRODUCTION

THE FORGOTTEN STAR OF THE SULTANATE OF WOMEN

This book focuses on the building activities of an overlooked Ottoman royal woman, Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan, and situates her patronage alongside that of her royal predecessors and successors in an architectural lineage that produced some of the most extraordinary buildings in the history of the Ottoman world. The output of Gülnuş Sultan is chosen in order to reveal how the scope of Ottoman women builders' patronage was shaped by various determining parameters, be they structural, historical or ideological. Moreover, the subject has been chosen in order to illuminate the life and work of one of the most notable figures of the Ottoman Harem, and correct the historical record, which heretofore has somewhat neglected her.

In fact, we will argue that Gülnuş Sultan should be considered one of the most notable figures of the historic Ottoman Harem, as she enjoyed a very long reign of influence at the heart of the Empire, which spanned moments of great turbulence during the mid-seventeenth century and periods of relative prosperity, including the early years of the eighteenth century. She began exercising her influence between 1664 and 1687 as the favourite of Mehmed IV (r. 1648–87), who, once she had given birth to a son, never left her behind at court and insisted on her company, even military campaigns. She was the only *haseki* (royal favourite) ever to accompany her husband on such missions, and away from the battlefields, she was famed across Europe for joining him on his hunting parties, held during the prolonged glory years of the dynasty. This was the period when the Turks were still a source of fear for their European neighbours, and this Greek-born, Harem-raised woman at the heart of the sultanate fascinated the world outside the Empire. Gülnuş even became the subject of contemporary European engravings, which, in extraordinary depictions of an Ottoman consort, showed her on horseback, a prominent and active member of the royal inner circle (Figure I.1).



Figure I.1 In an engraving by Theodoor van Merlen dated to the second half of the seventeenth century, Gülnuş Sultan was depicted on horseback and named as 'Evemenia Sultana, the principal wife of Mahomet IV, Turkish emperor' (© Bibliothèque nationale de France).

Later, she became queen mother to *two* Ottoman sultans, Mustafa II (r. 1695–1703) and Ahmed III (r. 1703–30), affording her an unusual longevity at the top of the Harem and, from 1695 and until her death in 1715, she played an active role both in politics and patronage as

the *Valide Sultan* (Queen Mother). The buildings that she endowed throughout the domains of the Empire helped her successfully legitimize her own power in the capital while simultaneously representing the glory and might of the Ottoman dynasty and state at its outmost reaches. Nevertheless, Gülnuş Sultan's legacy is eclipsed in the historical and popular imaginary by figures such as Hürrem (d. 1558), Nurbanu (d. 1583), Kösem (d. 1651) or Turhan (d. 1683) Sultans. Likewise, her building activities are less well known than those of other Ottoman royal women. This could be due to either the 'unappealing' seventeenth century of the Ottoman history, which is notorious as a period of crisis, rebellions and military defeats, or the Ottoman court's move from Istanbul to Edirne in the second half of the seventeenth century, as these historical realities have tended to reduce the attention paid to this period and its building activities.

However, this oversight is a mistake, and obscures from us the dedication in which Gülnuş Sultan was held by the sovereign, Sultan Mehmed IV. Indeed, Mehmed endowed her with many extraordinary favours, gifts and privileges: she was the only *Haseki* (favourite) in the history of the Empire in whose name a church was converted into a mosque as part of the spoils of a successful military campaign; moreover, she was only the second privileged *Haseki* after the reputed Hürrem Sultan to have an extensive religious foundation in Mecca, the holiest city of Islam; finally, she was the only queen mother to build two imperial mosques in Istanbul, the jewels in the crown of her buildings, which mushroomed throughout the empire as imprints of her power.

Yet, it is not only the quantity, exceptionality or spread of her buildings that makes Gülnuş Sultan's patronage important. This book will argue that she was indeed one of the most influential of Ottoman royal women, and that she actively took part in the state politics and used architecture as a means of propaganda. Her building enterprises were highly influenced by the political realities and contingencies of the moment, to which she paid strict attention in her ongoing attempts to shore up her sons' power. Until now, she has been excluded from the scholarly record's thesis about the so-called 'Sultanate of Women', the period starting with the tenure of Hürrem and encompassing the reign of several influential favourites and queen mothers, ending in the mid-seventeenth century.[1] This book argues that the 'Sultanate of Women' thesis ought to be extended to include Gülnuş, that she was indeed a member of it and that her patronage was the expression of her immense power. Moreover, her last buildings carried the seeds of an imminent and dramatic change in Ottoman architectural taste, which would determine the building

styles and decorations throughout the rest of the eighteenth-century. For this reason, it is important to reflect on the possible influence Gülnuş Sultan's intellect and her agency might have had on setting the stylistic parameters of the new era of Ottoman architecture.

While some of Gülnuş Sultan's buildings displayed the ambitions of a self-confident Ottoman Empire that was still able to wield considerable might in the world, some were more expressive of grudging defeats taken from European rivals. While some of them reflected the health and prosperity of the dynasty, some carried signs of internal pressure as Ottoman sultans were often faced with challenges as they imposed their power on their subjects, their soldiers or the *ulema* (religious leaders). This is particularly true when Gülnuş's buildings involved the Islamization of previously Christian spaces. Thus, while it was possible to come across church conversions in her name on the frontiers, which acted as symbols of military victories, it was also possible to find some in the imperial capital which were built to Islamize previously Catholic land in order to compensation for other military losses.

Gülnuş Sultan's tenure stretched through a half-century period of great transition, which included conquests, such as that of Kamianets-Podilskyi in 1672, and catastrophes, like the Siege of Vienna of 1683, victories, like the one in Prut in 1711, and defeats, like the one in the Zenta War of 1697. When she started her career as the favourite of Mehmed IV, the Ottoman Empire was enjoying a relatively stable period under the grand viziership of the Köprülü dynasty.[2] Subsequently, her husband Mehmed IV took on the holy conquest mission of his ancestors and marched into Europe with his beloved wife.[3] After successful campaigns in Poland, however, his ambition to conquer Vienna – the *red apple* of the Ottomans' eye since the time of Süleyman the Magnificent (r.1620–66) – turned out to be his doom. Humiliating defeats followed for the rest of the century under the reigns of three more sultans. The century ended with the catastrophic Treaty of Karlowitz, signed in 1699 during the reign of Mustafa II, a substantial humiliation for the Empire.[4]

The Edirne Revolt of 1703 signalled a shift in the Empire's fortunes. It not only ended the long influence of the Kadizadelis and their dominant creed of conservative orthodox Islam, but also the reign of Gülnuş Sultan's elder son, Mustafa II.[5] Her younger son Ahmed III, however, enjoyed a more successful tenure: the Ottomans were able to recover some of the previous territorial loses and, by the death of Gülnuş Sultan, the ‘Tulip Era’ – a period of peace and stability – was at the door.[6] This long transition period from the second half of the seventeenth century to the early eighteenth century carried the

Ottoman Empire towards the so-called, although now much-contested, idea of the 'decline' era. This context of change and upheaval, with its tempestuous political and economic fluctuations, also shaped the patronage of Gülnuş Sultan and is registered in the endowment decisions she made and the stylistic expressions present in her buildings. It is, in fact, possible to read this historical transition *through* the lens of Gülnuş Sultan's building activities, by taking architecture as a mirror of the transformation of the politics of state. However, for this reading, the locations of her buildings, their implicit and symbolic meanings and correlations with the socio-political events should be treated as boldly as their stylistic evolution.

After this brief historical background, one might be convinced of the exceptionality of the period or singularity of Gülnuş Sultan, but still raise the following question: 'Why does Ottoman women's patronage matter?' In fact, the answers to that question have been given considerable attention in the recent literature emerging in the wake of Gender Studies, and revisionist projects have begun to populate the male-dominated boundaries of architectural history with heretofore-overlooked women patrons. So far, the focus has been on shedding light on Western or European women and their patronage of the arts and architecture.[7] In terms of the Islamic world, it has been widely thought that men's patronage far exceeded women's in terms of scale and scope. Parallel to Islam's restrictions for women in public spaces, the trend has been to neglect evidence of women's architectural patronage on the assumption that any such building activities were necessarily subordinate to those of their male counterparts. This has resulted in a significant underestimation of women's role in this area and the extent of their patronage has often been underestimated, or indeed misattributed to their husbands or sons. Nevertheless, in the last few decades, prioritizing male patrons over female ones in Islamic empires has begun to be questioned, and it has come to be seen that far from being inactive or passive in this field, women of privilege frequently patronized architecture and used it as an effective tool for self-representation and visibility; not only did they build, but their buildings were often their public face, particularly as their physical appearance was often restricted under Islamic social norms, especially during more conservative phases.[8]

As a consequence, it was realized that women of a privileged status within the Ottoman Empire *were* as important patrons of architecture as men of privileged status, and their patronage started to become a subject of scholarly studies.[9] The increasing attention towards Ottoman royal women, who used to be thought as passive subjects beyond Harem walls, brought with it new insights about their

participation in politics and their patronage parallel to their power.[10] It was shown that Ottoman royal women, that is, mothers, wives, daughters and sisters of sultans, took the advantage of their positions and their high levels of income to build extensively in order to promote an image of themselves as a pious and charitable sultana while at the same time assuring their visibility through these physical structures, which played a bolder, more overt role than their seldom appearance in public ceremonies.[11] In parallel with the evolution of the policies of inheritance in the Ottoman dynasty, or due to political and economic constraints, queen mothers or favourites even took over the role of building on behalf of their sons.[12] In fact, this practice was in keeping with that of their predecessors in the Byzantine, Ayyubid and Seljuk empires.[13]

Within the last few decades, further academic studies have appeared which have brought certain buildings of certain woman builders into focus in order to reveal the patronage mechanisms of the Ottoman elites and how implicit messages were conveyed through those buildings.[14] A groundbreaking volume published in the last decade must be highlighted, as it sets out to examine the patronage of a single Ottoman women builder and places her output in comparison with that of contemporary European women patrons. It was Lucienne Thys-Şenocak's 'Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan', which intensively examines the building activities of Hadice Turhan Sultan, the mother of Mehmed IV.[15] Thys-Şenocak, by challenging the traditional misogynistic framework that obscured and discounted Ottoman women's involvement in politics, successfully showed how Turhan Sultan represented her power and piety, and made herself visible to Ottoman subjects and others through architectural patronage. And it was Thys-Şenocak's words below that marked the present book's starting point, inspiring both its subject and its approach:

> Ultimately, this case study of Turhan Sultan and her agenda for architectural patronage should be expanded to compare with patronage efforts conducted both by other royal Ottoman and 'other women' patrons who were her contemporaries, predecessors and successors. We can then work towards a more comprehensive understanding of imperial women's patronage in the Ottoman Empire and the complex relationships that existed between the built environment and the gendered identity of the architectural patron in the early modern world.[16]

With these words in mind, this current project focuses on Turhan

Sultan's successor and daughter-in-law, Gülnuş Sultan. As we have seen, both her person and her building activities have heretofore been obscured in the historical record, but, after a preliminary survey, it was easy to see that the combination of the involvement of Ottoman royal women in state politics since the early sixteenth century, and their ever-increasing participation in architectural patronage since Hürrem Sultan had bequested a critical legacy to Gülnuş. She naturally took her predecessors as role models in many ways; she knew how to transform her political power into buildings in order to portray an image of pious and beneficent sultana and how to use her income effectively to represent herself. Unfortunately, only some of the buildings that bore the name of Gülnuş Sultan have survived; many others have long since disappeared and been forgotten, ironically sharing a similar fortune with their patron. Thus presenting the architectural repertoire of Gülnuş Sultan is an exciting challenge as it attempts to fill an important gap within the Ottoman architectural history.

This book also takes this goal a step further by investigating Gülnuş Sultan's motivations for undertaking her various building activities and comparing her patronage with that of other Ottoman royal women. In so doing, the study aims to reach a comprehensive understanding of royal women's patronage in the Ottoman Empire and safely assess Gülnuş Sultan's place within this bigger picture. In other words, this book aims to bring another dimension to the emerging discourse on Ottoman women builders, and does so by performing a vertical comparison rather than a lateral one. Thus, rather than comparing Gülnuş Sultan's output with that of her contemporaries in the West or in the East, it ambitiously investigates the building activities of her predecessors and successors in the Ottoman Empire, that is, her role models and inheritors. Furthermore, while it continues in the vein of attempting to offer answers for previously unanswered questions, such as the agency of Ottoman women patrons in building projects, at the same time, by presenting new primary material, it refrains from repeating the assessments of the previous literature.

In order to realize these aims, this book first portrays the life of Gülnuş Sultan in Chapter 1, starting with her capture, in 1646 from Rethymno, her home town in Crete, and her subsequent presentation as a concubine to the Ottoman court in Istanbul. We will then chart the three major phases of her life, her early years in the Harem as the favourite of Mehmed IV until his deposition in 1687, her first reign as queen mother to her elder son Mustafa II, 1695–1703, and finally her second tenure as queen mother to her younger son Ahmed III, 1703–15. The most notable events of her life, including her political

activities and her travels into Eastern Europe, which were highly unusual for an Ottoman sultana, are interwoven with the historical background of the Empire in order to form a picture of the milieu within which her building activities took place; as we shall see, the events of her time were closely related with the emergence and the expression of her building activities.

To supply a base for the legacy that Gülnuş Sultan inherited and was in dialogue with in the construction of her own patronage portfolio, Chapter 2 focuses on the patronage of Gülnuş Sultan's predecessors in the Ottoman Empire. It is divided into two sections, taking one of the most influential sultanas, namely Roxelana or Hürrem Sultan, as a milestone. This is because Hürrem's unparalleled impact and privileged position in the eye of her husband Süleyman the Magnificent notably reshaped the patronage of all Ottoman women builders who came after her and brought about what Leslie P. Peirce has called the 'sedentarization of the sultanate.'[17] This change overturned the established practice of ceding out provincial governance to young heirs to the throne; rather, Hürrem opted to stay in the imperial capital and raise her sons in Topkapı Palace. The move proved lasting: not one of Hürrem's successors permitted their sons to be separated from them in the name of governance. The decision also had a profound effect on the future of Ottoman patronage, as it significantly affected the locations of the royal women's buildings.

Hürrem's unusual patronage[18] had very close correlations with her political agenda, and her reign became a model for her successors, yielding the period called the 'Sultanate of Women'. Therefore, the first section starts with the roots of women's patronage in the early Ottoman State and continues up until the reign of Hafsa Sultan, the mother-in-law of Hürrem Sultan, while the second section presents the subsequent royal women up to and until Turhan Sultan. With each sultana, the conditions governing the evolution of their building activities will be discussed.

What follows are the five core chapters of the book, 'The Building Activities of Gülnuş Sultan', which thoroughly investigate how Gülnuş Sultan exercised her patronage, examining the historical and architectural aspects of her buildings and grouping them in five separate sections, each of which corresponds to a certain type or stage of patronage. In Chapter 3, three churche-mosque conversions are explored: all in her name, in three different phases of her career and in three unique frontier cities, namely Kamianets-Podilskyi, Chios and Oran. These conversions clearly show how a royal woman could represent the Ottoman state by claiming the superiority of Islam over Catholic Christendom, and as such this section provides a previously

undiscussed insight about women's symbolic role in religious patronage.

Chapter 4 takes on another dimension of Gülnuş Sultan's patronage, focusing instead on buildings attesting to her piety and her religiosity, since they were constructed either in Mecca, the holiest city of Islam or on the route of the Hajj, the pilgrimage. The hospital and the soup kitchen, designed for the use of the pilgrims and the poor of Mecca, and the bridges near İznik easing the passage of a troublesome section of this long journey confirmed Gülnuş Sultan's reputation as a pious and generous sultana. By contrast, Chapter 5 examines a single building, Galata New Mosque, which had replaced the major Catholic Church, which had fallen into disrepair after an earthquake hit Istanbul and had subsequently been demolished, leaving few traces behind. This long-forgotten, uniquely modest imperial mosque, which was built in a predominantly Christian neighbourhood of the city, is here brought into daylight, as is a discussion of Gülnuş Sultan's Islamization of Christian space.

In Chapter 6, Gülnuş Sultan's large-scale network of water structures, fountains and their waterways in Galata, Edirne and elsewhere, are discussed. These are hugely important aspects of her patronage because, despite their hidden nature, they probably constitute the most philanthropic of her endowments. Moreover, examination of the documents attached to these endowments provides perhaps the clearest window into the construction processes Gülnuş, her chamberlain and the labour-chain followed and illuminate the agency of the *Valide Sultan* herself. Finally, Chapter 7 illustrates the *magnum opus* of Gülnuş Sultan, Üsküdar Yeni Valide Complex in Istanbul, and its novel articulation which signalled the approaching stylistic changes of eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture.

Chapter 8 discusses the building activities of Ottoman royal women after Gülnuş Sultan and takes her legacy into account while tracing the patronage of queen mothers and favourites from Saliha Sultan (d. 1739) to Rahime Perestü Sultan (d. 1904). While the changing paradigms in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman architecture brought about new styles and new building types, the patronage of royal women also adapted to this change and their patronage never lagged behind their male counterparts. Therefore this chapter reconsiders outdated ‘decline of the Ottoman Empire’ phenomenon by examining Gülnuş Sultan's successors' evolving patronage and charts the shifting dynamics of the expanding architectural repertory of Ottoman sultanas.

In order to find the answer to the question ‘Where do the buildings of Gülnuş Sultan stand within Ottoman architecture?’, a comparative

study is conducted in Chapter 9. Firstly, the building activities of Gülnuş Sultan investigated from Chapter 3 to Chapter 7 are compared and contrasted with each other with respect to their changing styles and scales over the *long duree* of her successive reigns. Then a comparison of Gülnuş Sultan's patronage with that of previous and successive Ottoman women is conducted, in order to see 'the big picture', by making use of the data presented in chapters 2 and 8. For these comparisons, different parameters, such as types, sizes, locations, architectural styles and symbolic meanings of buildings are taken into account.

Finally in the epilogue of the book, the determining factors of Ottoman royal women's patronages, such as length or political stability of their tenures, are analyzed. After safely designating the place of Gülnuş Sultan's buildings in the long tradition of Ottoman architecture, and having witnessed an extraordinary example of women's architectural patronage throughout a transitional and, at times, turbulent period of the Empire, an even more ambitious question is raised: How would a *typical* Ottoman royal woman, a favourite or a queen mother, carry out her architectural patronage? The answer to this question deciphers the common denominators which link patronages among Ottoman royal women across the centuries. It ends by offering a hypothetical illustration of an anonymous Ottoman sultana and her potential building activity.

Many other questions are answered in the following pages and still more are raised. It is to be hoped that this book also supplies necessary secondary material for future research projects by offering tables, chronologies and maps within its appendix, which can be used as references for further investigations. Besides giving an overall view, the chronology of queen mothers and favourites of the Ottoman dynasty, the tabulated data regarding the buildings' expenses, the number of attendants and their wages, as well as the table of Gülnuş Sultan's endowment deeds and their postscripts, should contribute a rich resource to be exploited not only by architectural historians, but also by scholars of economic and social history. Likewise, map showing the locations of Gülnuş Sultan's buildings and her routes during her travels provide clarity about the extent of her patronage and her unique mobility as a Harem member. Finally, lyrics of a folk song, which used to be sung in Gülnuş Sultan's hometown Crete and narrate her story, were added as a 'bonus track'.

The research for this book basically relied on mostly hitherto-unused material gathered from three major Ottoman archives in Turkey.[19] Invaluable documents shedding light on both Gülnuş Sultan's life and building activities were supplemented by her own and

other Ottoman royal women's endowment deeds. Those materials were extremely helpful in revealing various parameters of buildings and patronage, such as the start and completion dates of construction, material types and unit prices, the wages of workers or attendants of the buildings, the income-generating sources and amounts of the pious foundations, and so on. Certain processes, from the reconnaissance survey to the inauguration ceremonies, have become clear, even for some nonextant buildings, and the agency of the patron has been proven with the letters showing the correspondence between Gülnuş Sultan and her chamberlain – we can read her own sentences, written in her own hand. Furthermore, these archival materials were consolidated with the accounts of Ottoman chroniclers,[20] who were most of the time eye-witnesses to those building activities. Moreover, travelogues,[21] which also gave first-hand insights about buildings and their perception by their contemporaries, were valuable, as were many other secondary sources.

Besides the aforementioned written documents, visual sources and fieldwork were extremely important for unearthing the hidden history of Gülnuş Sultan's buildings. Certain engravings, maps and rare photographs[22] gave invaluable insights for the nonextant buildings and helped substantially in their architectural reconstructions. For those buildings still standing, I pursued the trail of Gülnuş Sultan's buildings in Istanbul, Edirne, Yalova, Kocaeli and Menemen in Turkey and in Kamianets-Podilskyi in Ukraine. I also performed fieldwork for a building which no longer stands in Chios, Greece. The fieldwork was excessively helpful and brought about new discoveries, as spending long hours in and around Gülnuş Sultan's buildings inspired new perspectives and a deeper understanding about their architecture. The buildings of many other Ottoman royal women were visited, photographed and investigated, with a particular interest in their certain features that would yield correlations with those of Gülnuş Sultan's. However, the long-disappeared buildings in Mecca and Oran were not visited, since those cities and their street patterns have lost their historical appearance.

Time in the field and in the archives prompted many more research questions than cannot be covered in the scope of this book. Questions abound regarding the sources of a specific architectural element in women's building projects, whether the gender of a patron impacted the overall expression of a building, what were the building activities of countless other royal women, what material traces as to a patron's identity remain imprinted upon the buildings and what evidence is there of contact between Ottoman patronesses and their female contemporaries in other Islamic or European countries… Yet, those

questions and many others are to be answered by future researchers. It is my hope that this book goes some way towards prompting such studies. Yet, for our purposes, it is now time to home in on the extraordinary life and exceptional patronage of a previously neglected Ottoman royal woman, Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan. As we shall see, what emerges can provide us with an invaluable blue-print for royal women builders of the Ottoman world.

CHAPTER 1

THE MOST ITINERANT SULTANA OF THE HAREM: THE EXTRAORDINARY LIFE OF A BISHOP'S DAUGHTER

In the year 1646, the British were just setting out on their imperial adventures in the New World and beginning their project of colonization on the eastern coast of North America. The nascent empire was playing catch-up to the Spaniards and the Portuguese, who had been busy dividing up South America between them for well over a century already. Back in the Old World, England was in civil war, the Portuguese were fighting for their independence from Spain, and the Thirty Years' War, fought between the Protestant and Catholic states of Europe, was into its twenty-eighth year. Conflict and upheaval reigned in Europe.

Further east, the Ottomans and the Venetians were also at loggerheads, locked into the early stages of the long Cretan War (1645–9). This conflict had been ignited the previous year with the Ottoman conquest of Chania but would last until 1669 when Heraklion finally fell. It was in this early part of the campaign that an Ottoman military officer called Hüseyin Pasha the Mad captured Rethymno from the Venetians; alongside the good news and the booty he sent back to Istanbul was a young girl of a town called Evmenia. What happened next inspired a folksong sung in Crete and all around the Eastern Mediterranean for centuries afterwards (Appendix 8).

The folksong tells of three young sisters, the daughters of the Bishop Vorya of Rethymno. One peaceful Sunday morning, as they were celebrating the feast day, all three were captured by the Ottomans and were stowed away on a sailing vessel to Istanbul. Their parents were left at home, distraught and alone. On the girls' arrival in Istanbul, pashas, viziers and naval captains of the city all vied to possess them, on account of their extraordinary beauty. One was taken by a pasha, another by a vizier, but the most beautiful daughter was acquired by the sultan. Ascending the stairs of the palace, the girl wept for her homeland and all she had lost. Yet, some years later, she sent word to her family that she had become the wife of the sultan,

who had wished to father a son with Greek Orthodox blood running in his veins. Soon after, she bore a son, became the mother of the future sultan, and assured her place at both at the Ottoman court and in the history of the Ottoman Empire.

The young girl was indeed Evmenia, known later as Gülnuş Sultan, whose fame reached back to her hometown after she became a powerful figure in the Ottoman court and inspired this song.[1] Sources claim that Evmenia was a descendant of the noble Verzizzi family, and her father a Bishop of Rethymno.[2] Although she came to Istanbul as a young child, she came to be trained in the ways of the Harem and, after some years, she attracted the attention of the young Sultan Mehmed IV. She became his favourite – his *Haseki*, Gülnuş Sultan, around 1664, and went on to bear the Sultan two sons, both of whom ascended the throne and made her Queen Mother in return.[3] This long career and unrivalled position of power in the Harem – as the favourite of Mehmed IV (1664–87) and as Queen Mother to Mustafa II (1695–1703) and Ahmed III (1703–15) – gave her an extraordinary chance to exercise power during a very turbulent period of Ottoman history. Her extensive building projects pay testament to her lengthy reign at the highest echelons of the Ottoman court. In order to understand how and under which circumstances her building activities emerged, the historical background of her half-a-century-long tenure deserves closer inspection.

Favourite of Mehmed IV (1664–87)

An Ottoman royal woman's significance only came into existence with the production of a male heir. Until that moment, their origins, previous lives, names or stories of how they came to live in the Harem were not subjects of note, since they were perceived as ordinary concubines; in other words, slaves.[4] This same rule also applied to Gülnuş Sultan, who only began her real career in the Ottoman harem once she had given birth to a son of Mehmed IV: thus her real name, nationality, or family roots cannot be found in any Ottoman source. However, European sources furnish us with the information about her background mentioned above, and her Christian name and origin can also be traced in European engravings (Figure 1.1).


EVMENIA SVLTANA præcipua Vxor
MAHOMET III. Imperatoris Turcarum. etc.
EUMENIA, des ietzigen Türck. Kaiß. Machmet IV.
Gemahlin, eine Griechin von Retimo in Candia bür
tig, da sie in ihrer zarten Jugend gefangen, und
als eine über aus schöne Schlavin dem Sultan geschicket

Figure 1.1 Flemish School artist Theodoor van Merlen's (left) and German artist Johann Friedlein's (right) late seventeenth-century engravings depicting Gülnuş Sultan. Both give her name as 'Evmenia Sultana, principal wife of Turkish Emperor Mehmed IV' and cite her hometown as Rethymno (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

Gülnuş, also known as Rabia Gülnuş, Ümmetullah, Hadice Gülnuş or Gülsüm Emetullah in different sources, obtained the title of *Haseki Sultan* (Chief Consort, or single favourite of the Sultan) upon the birth of *Şehzade* (Prince) Mustafa in 1664 in Edirne. Mustafa's birth came at an auspicious time and place. The Ottoman court, along with the Harem, had moved from Istanbul to the second capital the previous year, at the suggestion of Vanî Mehmed Efendi, preacher and teacher of Mehmed IV.[5] The move to Edirne was intended to shore up gains made in the turbulent western provinces. Thanks to Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's successful tenure as Grand Vizier between 1656 and 1661, the central authority had re-established itself, brought the janissaries and rural areas to heel, removed the Venetian blockade in Dardanelles and restored control in Wallachia and Transylvania.[6] Two years after his son, Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (1661–76) succeeded him as Grand Vizier, Nove Zamky was conquered (1663) and shortly afterwards, in 1664, the ongoing war with the Habsburgs also came to a brief hiatus with the Peace of Vasvár. At this point, with military resources less stretched, the Ottomans decided to head to Crete, Gülnuş's birthplace,

to capture the rest of the island from Venetians.[7]

It was in this relatively buoyant mood that Mustafa was born, and thus his birth was regarded as auspicious and the sources suggest that Gülnuş Sultan swiftly became the apple of Mehmed IV's eye.[8] This change in status can be easily tracked from several records in the *mühimme* registers of the second half of 1664 which relate to the fiefs of the *Haseki Sultan*, probably bestowed on Gülnuş by Mehmed IV as a gift after the birth of the *şehzade*.[9] From this point onward, the relationship between sultan and wife is notable for its strength and intimacy. Sultan Mehmed almost never left his wife behind at court after this celebrated birth: she accompanied him on his famously long-lasting hunting parties and even on extended military campaigns.[10] This fact was widely known in Europe, as we know from some of the engravings depicting Gülnuş Sultan, which introduce her with words such as: 'Principal Sultana Evmenia, wife of Mehmed IV, originally Greek, born in Rethymno in Crete, captured in 1647 at a very young age, and a very beautiful woman, following Mehmed IV everywhere and he also loves her very much'[11] (Figure 1.2).

Indeed, she was present at the inauguration ceremony of the Eminönü New Mosque, built under the direction of Turhan Sultan, together with Mehmed IV, the then-Queen Mother and *Şehzade* Mustafa.[12] We shall see in the following pages that it is possible this event perhaps inspired in her a determination to realize her own similar building aspirations, and to inaugurate them with similar pomp and ceremony; in this respect we can surmise that she looked to her mother-in-law as a close role model.[13] Thus, as eye-witness Tavernier relates, Gülnuş accompanied the Queen Mother on 2 July 1668 as she entered Istanbul with a grand procession, in a carriage drawn by six white horses and accompanied by pashas and peoples of the court.[14]



Figure 1.2 Engraving of Gülnuş Sultan dated to second half of the seventeenth century, by F. Jollain (© Bibliothèque nationale de France).


MAHUMETH. IV. Türckischer Kayser
Es wird ô MAHUMETH! der Christen froher Sieg
Bald sein dein Untergang, du führst den letzten Krieg
Die Teutschen Waffen die bereithen schon dein Grab
darein du wirst gestürtzt, mit dir nimmt alles ab.

Figure 1.3 Mehmed IV depicted in the late seventeenth century in an anonymous European engraving (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

Mehmed IV (Figure 1.3) was a sultan on the move, due primarily to his passion for hunting, and this, combined with his devotion, provided Gülnuş Sultan with great freedom of movement and the opportunity to see many places within the empire. Such motility was unprecedented for Ottoman women, who heretofore had spent the

best part of their lives enclosed within the walls of Harem. Gülnuş, however, travelled through the Balkans, through today's Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia and Romania, and saw several important cities along the way, such as Plovdiv, Sofia, Yambol, Karnobat, Dobrich, Silistra, Nis, Belgrade and Thessaloniki[15]. Similarly, she also travelled widely in Turkey, visiting Gallipoli in 1666.[16] (See Appendix 2 for a map of the routes Gülnuş Sultan travelled in her lifetime). She was without doubt the most itinerant woman of the Ottoman Harem, even outdoing the travels of her mother-in-law Turhan Sultan. This reputation preceded her, and stood in contrast to traditional conceptions of the Sultan's consort being kept closeted within the court. In Europe, she was depicted as a woman out in the world, an engraving on horseback visually attesting to her participation in hunts and expeditions (Figure I.1), while Paul Rycaut wrote that '[l]ike Diana, or some Mountain Nymph, she became a Huntress after her Prince, as he a Ranger after his Game.'[17]

Gülnuş Sultan's first military expedition was the Kamianets-Podilskyi (*Kamaniçe*) Campaign of 1672. Capturing the city, located in the south-west of modern-day Ukraine, represented a key strategic gain for Mehmed, as a military success there would neutralize a defensive bulwark against further Ottoman expansion north and west towards Poland. For this particular expedition, Mehmed wanted company, and besides his beloved wife, the sultan took with him several other key members of the Harem, including his mother, Turhan Sultan, his sisters Gevherhan Sultan and Beyhan Sultan and the young *Şehzade* Mustafa, and a royal tent was put up in Babadağ for their accommodation. On the way to the camp, the entourage encountered heavy rain and the silver carriage of Gülnuş Sultan stuck fast in the mud. The task of freeing her fell to the Grand Vizier, Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, along with his men, all of whom battled the elements in order to rescue her and free her gilded carriage. When Kamianets-Podilskyi was finally captured on 28 August 1672, the churches inside the fortress city were converted into mosques in the names of dignitaries, and one of them was granted to Gülnuş Sultan.[18] Thus acquired Gülnuş Sultan her first building in a conquered city; she was the first and the last *haseki* to obtain this privilege (Chapter 3).

After the conquest of Kamianets-Podilskyi and Podolia, the Treaty of Buchach was signed between Ottomans and Poles on 18 October 1672; however, Mehmed returned to the area to fight a further campaign in Khotyn the following year.[19] Once again, Gülnuş Sultan accompanied him, despite the fact that she was pregnant at the time they left Edirne. She gave birth to her second son and future sultan Ahmed on 31 December 1673 in Hacıoğlupazarı (Dobrich in today's

Bulgaria), where a winter palace had been built for this expedition. This was the first time that the Ottoman dynasty had witnessed the birth of a *şehzade* away from their capital and in the midst of a military campaign.[20]

Mehmed IV's and Gülnuş Sultan's sons Mustafa and Ahmed were circumcized in 1675 with a lavish and long-lasting feast. These celebrations were followed soon after by another festivity for the marriage of Mehmed and Gülnuş's daughter, Hatice Sultan. A foreign witness of this feast, Tavernier, gives us a glimpse of the festivities and their hostess: 'The sons of Mehmed IV had a magnificent circumcision ceremony. Their mother was a very beautiful woman, and most desirous to put on very splendid ceremony for the eyes of local and foreign participants, ordering the costume of *şehzade*s to be covered with precious diamonds. For this purpose, very valuable pieces of the treasury were used, and only to be replaced back after the ceremony.'[21]

Tavernier was not alone in celebrating Gülnuş Sultan's appearance; she was a renowned beauty at home and abroad. She is generally depicted as a short but very attractive, light-skinned, blue-eyed and chestnut-haired woman[22] (Plate 1). However, despite the fact that her beauty and her two *şehzade*s ensured both a privileged position within the Harem and in the affections of Mehmed IV for her, she nevertheless had the reputation for being fiercely jealous and ruthless. Some years later she was rumoured to have killed, or to have contrived to kill, another of Mehmed's consorts in order to strengthen her own place, both romantically and politically.[23] It was also alleged that she tried to persuade Mehmed IV to kill his brothers Süleyman and Ahmed who, as heirs to the throne, signified a potential delay to the gratification of her ambitions to become Queen Mother; it was left to the then-queen mother, Turhan Valide Sultan, to prevent the materialization of such assassinations or their attempt.[24]

In these years, the Kadızadeli movement, revived by Vanî Mehmed Efendi, was very influential at the Ottoman court. The movement had first gained prominence under its founder, Kadızade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1635), and was somewhat fundamentalist in character, opposed to the more heterodox and syncretic tendencies of Sufi Islam and keen to turn the empire's Muslims towards a more literalist interpretation of their religion, similar to the Salafi movement of today. The Kadızadeli suffered a brief lapse in influence after its founder's death in 1635, but was revived by Vanî Mehmed Efendi during Mehmed IV's reign. Vanî Mehmed Efendi was both preacher and teacher to Mehmed, and he even participated in the Podolia (Kamianets-Podilskyi) expedition, which indicates his closeness to the Ottoman sultan at that time. As

Vanî's authority grew, his ideas began to shape the laws governing the social life of Ottoman subjects. For instance, decidedly hostile to non-Muslims and their practices, Vanî helped to push to through legislation banning the consumption of alcohol, tobacco and opium in the 1660s and 1670s.[25] The sources suggest that Gülnuş Sultan was also influenced by Vanî Mehmed Efendi and the Kadızadeli movement: her sons were taught first by him, then by his follower and son-in-law Feyzullah Efendi, the future preacher of Mustafa II. Interestingly, Mehmed IV was once so annoyed with Feyzullah Efendi that he decided to execute him, but Gülnuş Sultan intervened and ensured his absolution.[26]

After the war between Ottomans and Polish ended with the Treaty of Zhuravno in 1676, the Ottomans went to war with Russia between 1676 and 1681 in an attempt to establish which empire could claim dominance over Ukraine. In 1678, Mehmed IV himself participated in this war, and of course, he took his favourite, Gülnuş Sultan, with him. However, neither sultan nor consort went to the front, and opted instead to stay in Silistra while a successful campaign was waged at the front by Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha.[27] That same year, Gülnuş Sultan initiated the first of her patronage projects. To the St. Nicholas Church in Kamianets-Podilskyi, which had been converted into a mosque in her name, she added a hospital and soup kitchen in Mecca and storehouses in Egypt. Her focus on Mecca, the holiest city of Islam, showcases her religiosity and commitment to her adopted faith and her benevolence, a keynote sounded again and again in her patronage projects (Chapter 4).

The Treaty of Bakhchysarai in 1681 ended the war with Russia, and Mehmed IV turned his attention towards capturing Vienna, which had been the red apple of temptation for the Ottomans ever since the first attempted siege against it by Süleyman the Magnificent in 1529. However, the second failed siege in 1683 would mark a turning point for the empire, even though, at the outset, Mehmed IV was quite sure of victory. Early in the campaign he marched, with Gülnuş Sultan, alongside the army until they reached Belgrade, where the royal family settled in a palace to await good news from the front.[28] The success of the siege was entrusted to Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha, but it turned out to be a disaster after the Polish king, John Sobieski, attacked the Ottoman troops. When news of the rout arrived from the battlefield, a despondent Mehmed returned back to Edirne under heavy rain with his *haseki*.[29] Had the Ottomans succeeded in capturing Vienna, Gülnuş Sultan would likely have acquired another church to convert, but the result was a humiliating thrashing for the empire.

Fortune did not smile on the years following the Vienna campaign

for either the Ottomans or Mehmed IV and Gülnuş Sultan. The execution of the Grand Vizier, Kara Mustafa Pasha, failed to bring salvation, and could not stop the expanding armies of the Holy League, taken from the Holy Roman Empire, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Venetian Republic in 1684, and then from Russia, who joined the alliance in 1686. Ottoman territorial losses extended from central Europe to Morea; Buda was lost in 1686 and Athens was captured by the Venetians in 1687. Internal chaos, a financial crisis, new taxes, the executions of consecutive grand viziers, revolts in Anatolia and famine in the summer of 1686 followed by a brutal winter in 1686/7 led to the disastrous Mohacs Battle of 1687. This catalogue of difficulties and failures paved the way for Mehmed IV's ultimate fate. He began to lose favour at court and, with it, his power-base: his hunting passion and mobility became the subject of criticism and on 8 November 1687, Mehmed was deposed and replaced by his brother, Süleyman II.[30] The new sultan lost no time in ordering Mehmed's internment, alongside his two sons, in Edirne, where he died in 1693.[31]

Ironically, between 1683 and 1687, at the same time as Mehmed IV was losing his grip on the Ottoman throne, Gülnuş Sultan was becoming the most powerful figure in the Harem, with the death of her mother-in-law, Hadice Turhan Sultan, occurring while the siege of Vienna was still underway. However, during those four turbulent years that followed the unsuccessful Battle of Vienna, Gülnuş Sultan was unable to enjoy her position and express her newfound authority by financing further building enterprises. On the other hand, while Gülnuş Sultan's effect on the governance of the empire was imperceptible during the tenures of grand viziers Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (1661–76) and Kara Mustafa Pasha (1676–83), her influence was tangible while Kara İbrahim Pasha (1683–5) and Süleyman Pasha (1685–7) were in power, as during those four years she was unencumbered by the presence of a queen mother to challenge her position.[32]

After Mehmed IV's dethronement, Gülnuş Sultan was sent to the Old Palace in Istanbul.[33] Nothing is known about the next eight years of her life while she patiently waited for her first son to ascend to throne. Meanwhile, hopes that the deposition of Mehmed IV would improve the fortunes of the empire were short-lived, and the Ottomans continued to suffer insulting defeats from the Holy League on the battlefields throughout the reigns of both Süleyman II (1687–91) and Ahmed II (1691–5). The fall of Belgrade in 1688 was followed swiftly by a Russian attack on Crimea in 1689, and later the crushing Austrian victory of the Battle of Slankamen in 1691. These defeats

culminated with the loss of Chios to the Venetians in 1694.[34] In this political climate, and deprived of her status as favourite, it was impossible for Gülnuş Sultan to embark on any patronage projects. Yet, her return to the New Palace and to privilege, power and patronage as Queen Mother would be spectacular.

Queen Mother to Mustafa II (1695–1703)

The news of Mustafa II's ascension to the throne reached Gülnuş Sultan in the Old Palace on 7 February 1695 (Figure 1.4). The announcement marked a crucial turning point in her life. Soon after, Mustafa II issued an imperial decree calling his mother to Edirne, his chosen seat of power, and on 15 February, Gülnuş Sultan sent salutations to her son and enclosed plans for the celebrations for his coronation.[35] Local governors were ordered to make preparations for the new *Valide Sultan*'s journey from Istanbul to Edirne; the procession of the Queen Mother (*Valide Alayı*) started in the Old Palace in Istanbul, and then took in a visit to the New Palace, before heading to Edirne where Gülnuş Sultan was welcomed by her son.[36] The funeral costs for the deceased Sultan Ahmed II were accompanied in the register by the costs for repairing the bridges on her way.[37] Thus the death of her brother-in-law paved the way for her son's reign and restored Gülnuş Sultan to a place of pre-eminence at court. Moreover, her altered circumstances gave her opportunity to exercise much greater political power and bestow many more architectural patronages than she had done as a favourite. Concordantly, European sources attest to her power an influence: 'The *Valide* Sultana being arrived at Adrianople (Edirne) was received with open arms by her son, who governed himself much by the measures had been given him by his mother.'[38]



Figure 1.4 Mustafa II in an anonymous late seventeenth/early eighteenthcentury European engraving (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

Gülnuş Sultan started her new tenure with the acquisition of a prestigious building. While the Ottoman Empire was in war with Holy League on several fronts, the island of Chios, which had been occupied by the Venetians for six months, was reconquered on 21 February 1695, only two weeks after Mustafa II's enthronement.[39] Three Catholic churches in the town of Chios were converted into mosques in the name of the new sultan, the Queen Mother and the conqueror of the island, Mısırlızade İbrahim Pasha (Chapter 3).[40] Although Gülnuş Sultan did not play a direct role in acquiring these buildings, the gain symbolized a fitting start to her tenure, a bold assertion of her name, its allegiance to the Ottoman state and a statement of supremacy over the Catholics of Chios.

Gülnuş Sultan mostly stayed in the New Palace of Edirne during the reign of Mustafa II, except when she undertook travels to palaces in nearby villages, such as Akpınar and Çömlek, and of course to Istanbul.[41] However, as Edirne had been the unofficial capital since Mehmed IV's reign, Mustafa II also adhered to this city, and seldom visited Istanbul. One of his first acts as sultan was to recall his teacher Feyzullah Efendi from Erzurum, where he was in exile, back to Edirne

and assign him to the position of Sheikh-al-Islam.[42] During her residence in Edirne, Gülnuş Sultan built a fountain with a prayer platform nearby the gardens of the palace in 1696, in all likelihood a symbolic gesture of her gratitude for the city in which she dwelt and from which her son wielded his power (Chapter 6).

Throughout his reign, Mustafa II used Edirne as a base for his military expeditions into Europe, and he led the army from there to three successive campaigns against Habsburg Empire in 1695, 1696 and 1697.[43] Gülnuş Sultan was stalwart in support for her son. She would accompany him in his marches out of Edirne and welcome him again with presents and salutations upon his return.[44] She was also an advocate for him and would often be an agent of soft power for the Ottomans, sending letters to the vassals of the Empire, such as the Khan of Crimea, and soliciting for military back-up for her son during his various European campaigns.[45] The Valide Sultan was clearly valued as an advisor and confidante by her son. Mustafa would inform his mother immediately when he captured previously lost castles in Europe.[46] Gülnuş Sultan was the prime supporter of her son's military activity and an emissary of the state's pride.

While Mustafa II was away fighting the campaign of 1696, a fire in Galata in Istanbul burnt down the major Catholic shrine of the city, the San Francesco Church.[47] At the time, the Ottoman Empire was suffering defeats from its Christian rivals: Azov, the important military outpost in northern Black Sea, was lost to Russians in 1696 and the Battle of Zenta in 1697 turned out to be a humiliation for the Ottomans, and paved the way for the signing of the Treaty of Karlowitz which brought an end to the Austro-Ottoman War and represented capitulation for the empire.[48] In this political climate, the rebuilding of a Catholic church in the Ottoman heartlands was not permitted; in its stead, Gülnuş Sultan decided to build a mosque on the land, taking the initiative to replace this precious Catholic land in Istanbul with an Islamic building, an expression of support for her embattled son and of the precedence of Islam as the religion of the empire (Chapter 5).

The Treaty of Karlowitz was signed on 26 January 1699, and despite its clauses to the detriment of Ottomans, it brought relief and respite to the treasury and the people, and its negotiators were rewarded.[49] On its ratification, Mustafa II was advised to return Istanbul, since the peace was established, and he joined his mother there in August 1699.[50] Gülnuş Sultan invited her son to the official inauguration ceremony of her mosque in Galata on 26 September 1699, while she had also endowed another fountain in Emekyemez neighbourhood of Galata the same year (Chapter 6). Mother and son

remained in Istanbul for around 18 months, preferring to spend their time in Davutpaşa Palace, Çatalca Palace, Üsküdar Palace and other nearby destinations around Istanbul, rather than at Topkapı Palace. Finally in March 1701, Mustafa II decided to move back to Edirne.[51]

Gülnuş Sultan was not a retiring Valide Sultan, and indeed was quite influential on state politics, having talks with and giving advice to grand viziers, and attempting to mediate the relations between them and her son.[52] However, despite these efforts at negotiation, she could not prevent the increasing unrest of the dignitaries and janissaries, which culminated in the Edirne Event of 1703. The fallout from the Treaty of Karlowitz, Feyzullah Efendi's manipulations in state politics, which challenged the authority of the viziers, and Mustafa II's decision to leave Istanbul all combined to prepare the ground for an uprising in Istanbul. Before events spread to Edirne, Gülnuş Sultan told her son to abandon his old religious master, Feyzullah Efendi, and acquiesce to the rebels' request that he be deposed in an attempt to see off further problems, which could adversely affect their position.[53] Clearly, Gülnuş Sultan was a close follower of political events and saw herself as having a responsibility to try to consolidate her son's – and, by association, her own – power.

Nevertheless, the protests, which had started in July 1703 in Istanbul's Atmeydanı, turned towards Edirne in early August; Mustafa II was too late to depose Feyzullah Efendi and was unable to neutralize the rebellions.[54] Before the rebels reached Edirne, they handed over an Islamic judicial decision, which ordered the dethronement of Mustafa II for the sake of the continuity of the state.[55] All the religious, military and other dignitaries were demanding Mustafa's brother, Ahmed, should replace him.[56] Finally, a petition signed by Sheikh-al-Islam Imam Mehmed Efendi and others was addressed directly to Gülnuş Sultan, informing her about the deposition of Mustafa II and the appointment of Ahmed III as the new sovereign.[57]

Gülnuş Sultan sent a letter back to Sheikh-al-Islam Imam Mehmed Efendi and the Grand Vizier Rami Mehmed Pasha stating: ‘I see that you have all arrived at a consensus to make my son Ahmed the sovereign and remove my son Mustafa from the throne. Consulting before doing something is a good, and your request is given consent.’[58] Thus, Gülnuş was the highest authority to approve the change of the ruler of the Ottoman Empire, although this decision was painful and forced. Her placatory stance is indicative of her shrewdness: by showing her fealty to the wellbeing of the state, she was also trying to secure her son's life. In this she was successful, and accordingly, on 22 August 1703, Mustafa II abdicated and left the

throne to his brother, Ahmed III. Gülnuş Sultan burst into tears when she saw her deposed son, but Mustafa was able to move to a special place in the palace, which would accommodate him until his death from natural causes on 29 December 1703.[59]

After the Edirne Event, which yielded the enthronement of Gülnuş Sultan's older son as well as the execution of Feyzullah Efendi by the protestors, the unrest did not draw to a close immediately. The rebels demanded that the Queen Mother reside in the Old Palace and not enter the New Palace, the headquarters of the government of the state.[60] It is clear that the rebels saw the young Sultan Ahmed III and his viziers as easier to manipulate than his older brother, and were aware of the fact that the Queen Mother would not give them peace after restoring her power. Indeed, Gülnuş would learn from the bitter experience that she gained at the end of her first term at the head of the Harem, becoming much shrewder, more prudent and more effective in her second tenure as Valide Sultan.

Queen Mother to Ahmed III (1703–15)

After the Edirne Event brought an end to Mustafa II's reign, Gülnuş Sultan and Ahmed III gave up living in Edirne, which had been de facto capital for 40 years, and moved to Istanbul with all the members of the Harem and the court. It was likely an uneasy time for Sultan Ahmed and his mother Gülnuş Sultan, now officially 'Valide-i Sultan Ahmed Han' (Figure 1.5). Therefore they tried to win the people of Istanbul's favour by staging several public events, such as archery competitions at Okmeydanı or celebrating the launch of a new battleship at the *Tersane-i Amire*, the state dockyard.[61]



Figure 1.5 Ahmed III in an anonymous early eighteenth-century European engraving (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

In the first three years of Ahmed III's reign, three different grand viziers were appointed, and it appears that Gülnuş Sultan was instrumental in each of those assignments and deposals. In a letter to Kavanoz Ahmed Pasha, who became the first grand vizier of his son, Gülnuş Sultan congratulates him and gives him some advice related with his new post:

> […] my lion [Ahmed III] has given the seal of grand vizierate to you. May God make it blessed. Be worthy of the religion and the state, gain the favour of my lion, and be righteous in the affairs of Prophet Muhammed's followers. Being an old and faithful servant of the state, you were appointed to this rank. Now, you should leave your comfort behind, work hard to maintain the order of the state affairs and military personnel, and appoint reliable people to the important ranks. It is the duty of all of you to take revenge against the enemies of the religion and the state […][62]

It is obvious from Gülnuş Sultan's words that she saw taking the army under control as a primary responsibility of the new grand vizier, and that taking revenge – implicitly by punishing those responsible for the Edirne Event – was both necessary and important in restoring power back to the sultanate. In another undated letter to yet another newly appointed grand vizier, she again advises him to

discipline inexperienced janissaries, and to warn their chief against actions that might cause harm to the people; in the same letter she also wishes success for her son in getting revenge and punishing the enemies of the religion and the state.[63]

After settling in to the queen mother's quarters at Topkapı Palace, Gülnuş Sultan was in a position where she was able to dominate the court both physically and administratively.[64] She soon began to exercise this power, expressing her desire to promote her chief servant (*başağa*) Uzun Süleyman Ağa to the rank of chief eunuch of the Harem (*darüssaade ağası*). Grand Vizier Enişte Hasan Pasha was against this decision and approached the sovereign to tell him that Uzun Süleyman Ağa was already interfering in state affairs and he could be yet more troublesome if he were promoted. In response to these misgivings, not only was Süleyman Ağa appointed to that post, but Enişte Hasan Pasha lost his position.[65] Kalaylıkoz Ahmed Pasha, whose previous faults were forgiven, in accordance with the recommendation of Gülnuş Sultan, became the new Grand Vizier.[66]

It is likely that all the statesmen became aware of Gülnuş Sultan's power and her influence on Ahmed III after these appointments, if they had not already been so. After Kalaylıkoz Ahmed Pasha, Baltacı Mehmed Pasha managed to hold the office of grand vizier in this post for one-and-a-half years, and delivered his seal in 1706 to Çorlulu Ali Pasha, who married with Mustafa II's daughter Emine Sultan in 1708. A year after, second vizier Silahdar Ali Pasha, who would later become the grand vizier, wed Fatma Sultan, daughter of Ahmed III.[67] Similarly to the practice of previous sultans, Ahmed III and his mother were keen to establish family bonds with high-ranking officials as a means of forging alliances and of shoring up the security of the ruling family.

Meanwhile, the jurisdiction of the Sheikh-al-Islam was restricted, the Khan of Crimea was changed and two attempted mutinies were avoided.[68] Thus, this period was one of relative peace and stability, with Ahmed III proving himself able to quell the unrestful atmosphere in Istanbul; this left Gülnuş Sultan free to embark upon new building activities. In 1705–6, new waterways were constructed for Galata New Mosque and new public fountains were built in the area. Projects which had such a clear positive effect on the local populace must have improved the reputation of Gülnuş Sultan and the Ottoman dynasty in the eyes of people of Istanbul, and these building innovations paved the way for the fountain building trend of the eighteenth century (Chapter 6). In these same years, a section of the Hajj route between Hersek and Boyalıca near Nicaea was paved and a total of 12 bridges on this path were constructed, including a three-arched bridge

(Chapter 4).

The Ottoman Empire did not go to war with any other countries until 1711, but in 1708 the Dey of Algiers captured Oran, an important town on Mediterranean coast, from the Spaniards. The keys of the fortress were sent to Istanbul and three major Catholic churches inside the castle were converted into mosques in the names of Ahmed III, Gülnuş Sultan and the grand vizier, Çorlulu Ali Pasha.[69] Thus, Gülnuş Sultan once again bestowed her name upon another Islamic building, this time in the farthest corner of the empire, elevating her further as a representative of the Ottoman state and of Islam (Chapter 3). That same year, Gülnuş Sultan also embarked on her *magnum opus*, the mosque complex in Üsküdar (Chapter 7).

When the Swedish King Charles XII escaped from Russians after the Battle of Poltava in 1709, he took shelter in Ottoman territories, where he lived in exile for five years; during this period, Gülnuş Sultan once more appeared in the political arena. Alongside second vizier Damat Silahdar Ali Pasha, she took the side of the Swedish king and steered her son towards a war against Russia. According to Voltaire, Charles XII had asked for the Queen Mother's help and she urged her son to help the Swedish king to destroy Russia, and even conspired to facilitate the deposition of the grand vizier, Çorlulu Ali Pasha, who was against the war with Russians. Having achieved his downfall, she also helped engineer the appointments of Köprülüzade Damat Numan Pasha and Baltacı Mehmed Pasha, two pro-war grand viziers.[70] A very interesting manuscript, which is kept in the archives of Sweden today and describes the Queen Mother's pious works and her sons' battles, must have been presented to Swedish King by Gülnuş Sultan at that time during their contact.[71]

After these manoeuvrings, the Ottoman Empire finally declared war with Russia and Baltacı Mehmed Pasha was assigned the commander. Gülnuş Sultan's mosque complex, the Yeni Valide Mosque in Üsküdar, was inaugurated with the participation of Baltacı and his troops before the army's departure. This celebration turned out to be auspicious, as Baltacı gained a decisive victory over Russian Tsar Peter the Great by the River Prut in 1711. However, just before a final attack to rout the Russian army, Baltacı agreed to sign a peace treaty with Russia. This treaty, which prevented the surrender of Russian army and Tsar Peter, did not satisfy Ahmed III and Swedish King, who felt it was an unnecessary capitulation.[72] Baltacı sought aid and mercy directly from the Queen Mother, and before he returned to Istanbul sent a letter ahead explaining the situation to Gülnuş Sultan. In the event, he was deposed before that letter reached her, and we are left not knowing if a plea from her would have saved him.[73]

On 30 November 1712, the Ottomans once more declared war against Russia, on the basis that Russian was not abiding by the rules of the treaty provisions. The now-ageing Gülnuş Sultan, as in 'the good old days', accompanied her son Ahmed III and the army from Istanbul to Edirne, as he took the control of the campaign himself by acting as the army's commander. But before they embarked north-eastwards, Russia, perhaps intimidated by the prospect of another war, agreed to sign another treaty.[74] Meanwhile, Damat Silahdar Ali Pasha, her son-in-law and a pro-war ally, was appointed as Grand Vizier. He signed the conclusive Treaty of Edirne with the Russians on 14 June 1713, which gave the Ottomans the opportunity to declare war against the Venetians in order to take back Morea in 1714.[75] This war was not only supported by the Turkish Ottomans, but also by the Greek minority of Istanbul and, in particular, one notable character from within the Harem:

> The Phanariots [Greeks of Istanbul living in Fener] presented Ahmed III with a series of appeals from the Greeks under Venetian rule in the Aegean islands of the Peloponnese imploring the Ottomans to come and liberate them from Latin domination. This influential pressure group was supported by Sultan Ahmed's Cretan-born mother.[76]

Ahmed III and his now-elderly mother, who had lost large amounts of her fiefs with the loss of Morea in the 1680s, were both very eager for its recapture.[77] Ahmed wanted to participate in the Morea campaign; however, the Grand Vizier, Damat Silahdar Ali Pasha, was appointed as the commander and the royal family bade farewell to the army from Edirne.[78] During the campaign, Gülnuş Sultan fell sick, though she was kept continuously informed about the course of the war and every conquered fortress, which had been in the hands of the Venetians for almost 30 years.[79] Finally, in September 1715, news of victory in Morea arrived at Edirne.[80]

Ahmed III welcomed the victorious army and its commander, Grand Vizier Silahdar Ali Pasha, outside Edirne on 4 November 1715, and they returned to Edirne the next day. However, in the night of the same day, on 5 November 1715 (8 Zilkade 1127), Gülnuş Sultan, who had been sick for some time, passed away in Edirne Palace.[81] Thus, this legendary Valide Sultan died on the day when the conquering army returned victorious from Morea, a campaign which she had wished to set out on herself, despite being almost 80. Beginning her life on Crete as the daughter of an Orthodox Bishop, she had risen to become the most powerful woman in the Ottoman Empire, and had helped to steer the ship of state, in governance and in military affairs

throughout a most turbulent period in Ottoman history. Moreover, she left behind a corpus of buildings which would immortalize her for centuries.

In the following days, her corpse was transferred from Edirne to Istanbul with immense pomp and ceremony, and she was buried in the tomb of her mosque complex, the request of her will and testament, in Üsküdar on 8 November 1715.[82] After her death, the consumptions for her kitchen in the palace was stopped[83], and a detailed list of her personal belongings, including textiles, jars, plates, precious jewellery and money, was prepared in order to be handed into imperial treasury.[84] A list of her assets was also composed,[85] probably to be transferred to other dignitaries with the consent of the sovereign. Similarly, her waterside mansion was bestowed upon Fatma Sultan by Ahmed III.[86] Those were the fiefs that she had not been able to endow as income sources for potential waqfs for building enterprises, unlike the many others bestowed on her since she became *haseki*.[87]

Gülnuş Sultan lived a long life and witnessed a long tenure in the Ottoman Harem, 23 years of which she enjoyed as the favourite of Mehmed IV, and 20 years of which she 'ruled' as Valide Sultan. She lived and ruled through an extremely critical period of Ottoman Empire. The dynastic politics of the seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire, when the mothers of Ottoman Sultans were the utmost authority, gave her the chance to exercise power via a domineering influence on her two sons, to which contemporary European sources also attest,[88] and she was the second and the last queen mother after Kösem Sultan to see both of her sons' reigns. Despite the fact that she has heretofore been excluded from the so-called Sultanate of Women, her influence has largely been under-observed in contemporary studies.[89] However, her correspondence with foreign sovereigns – such as the King of Sweden or the Khan of Crimea – her advice to grand viziers (and her manipulations to appoint or depose them), her persuasion of her son to declare war, her consent for the replacement of one of her reigning sons with the other and countless unwritten histories compel us to reconsider her power and influence. Rather, Gülnuş Sultan ought to be considered as an active participant in the Sultanate of Women, indeed a very distinguished participant, to which her extensive building and patronage projects attest.

CHAPTER 2

BUILDING ACTIVITIES OF OTTOMAN SULTANAS UP TO GÜLNUŞ SULTAN

Ottoman women, both royal and civilian, are certainly less visible and their names less celebrated in history books when compared to their male counterparts; but they have never been inactive when it comes to architectural patronage. As seen in the Introduction, they were in fact using their building activities as a tool of self-representation and visibility in order to overcome the restrictions on their public appearance. Moreover, the Ottomans, whose state administration and social practices were highly influenced by both their Muslim – Arab or Seljuk – and non-Muslim – Byzantine or Turco-Mughal – predecessors, also incorporated the notion of female charity, important to all these traditions, into their practices.[1] The early Islamic figures in particular, such as the Prophet Muhammed's wives and daughters, were known to devote themselves to charitable giving, and they became important role models for the Ottomans in establishing religious charitable foundations called *waqfs*.[2] As a result, women were involved in building campaigns ever since the emergence of the Ottoman State, and by the mid-sixteenth century one third of the waqfs within Ottoman territories had been set up by women.[3]

Wives and mothers of Ottoman sultans[4] were able to embark on building activities thanks to their privileged position and wealth. Indeed, we come across buildings of almost all Ottoman royal women, starting from the wife of the second Ottoman sovereign Orhan Bey. However, their patronages were always conditioned by the political and economic circumstances affecting the Empire, and, of course, at the governing level, were particularly influenced by the evolution of the Ottoman state's distinctive reproductive policy. Over time, concubines, rather than noblewomen, became the preferred conjugal partners of sultans and, after the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent set a precedent with the power wielded by his wife Hürrem, Ottoman women became increasingly involved in state affairs. Therefore, at times their buildings not only served as tools of self-representation for women, but also as political symbols, helping to reinforce the legitimacy of a prince or a reigning son. While they almost always

conveyed a religious message, representing the patrons' piety and devotion to God, they also signified the power of the state and its generosity towards people. At times of economic and social crisis, of the types seen in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these buildings could even function as symbolic consolation for the public.

Hence, this chapter will focus on the building activities of Gülnuş Sultan's predecessors – previous favourites and queen mothers of the Ottoman dynasty[5] – in order to chart the legacy that informed her motivation and that developed the unwritten rules of Ottoman women's patronage. The chapter is split into two sections: one for the patronages before Hürrem Sultan (d. 1558), the favourite of Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), and one for those after her. This milestone is intentionally chosen as Hürrem Sultan's unparalleled impact and privileged position within the history of the Ottoman dynasty notably reshaped both the patronages of all Ottoman women who came after her and their involvement in state politics and administration. As she is understood to have been the first to encourage what Lesley P. Peirce calls the 'sedentarization of the sultanate,'[6] subsequent choices of location, of exterior and interior appearance and the overall extent of the royal women's buildings were directly affected and gained new symbolism delineating new agendas, as will be seen in detail below.

Therefore, while early Ottoman women and their building policy will be briefly discussed in the first section, more attention will be paid to the second section where the patronages during the so-called 'sultanate of women' period, dating roughly from Hürrem Sultan's tenure to that of Turhan Sultan (d. 1683), will be discussed, since those women were the true role-models for Gülnuş Sultan. It should also be noted that this examination of the building activities of Ottoman women before and after Gülnuş, which takes place here and in Chapter 8 respectively, relies on the available secondary literature to inform its general position about their patronages, and only a very brief historical background of the period will be given, since the scope of this book is limited and focused on the building activities of but one Ottoman woman. However, as it will be seen in the following chapters, examining Gülnuş Sultan's building activities, consulting the archival documents and taking the historical context into consideration is essential in order to discover the full extent to which her patronages stretched. We look forward to the point at which this volume can be enriched by future studies that fully investigate previous and later women's patronages together with their own political, social and economic formations and constraints.

Building Activities of Ottoman Royal Women up to Hürrem Sultan

The significance of a woman in the Ottoman Harem was always dependent on the gender of her offspring, and she could only become 'the favourite' – the *haseki* – upon giving birth to a male. In the case of such an auspicious event, a new chapter of their lives would open as they became mothers to potential sultans and responsible for the education of their sons. During the first two formative centuries of the Ottoman Empire, the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, the wives of ruling sultans were expected to keep their young princes company in the provincial capitals like Manisa or Amasya, where potential heirs to the throne were able to practice the administration of these provinces as they prepared to reach maturity. However, in the polygamous marriages of the empire, wives often coexisted as rivals to each other, as their sons were natural contestants to become the next ruler. Of course, the rivalry was not only confined to the status of their offspring, but also their own futures, as the successful son would give his mother the chance to become queen mother, the Valide Sultan.

Accordingly, buildings in the names of these royal rivals began to appear in the provincial cities. Architecturally, they were usually meant to reinforce the legitimization of the power of princes, rather than transmit a message about the women themselves, such as their piety or religiosity, as was the case for Gülnuş Sultan. Nevertheless, those buildings were also manifestations of the changing status of the court's women, who entered the palace as slaves but could eventually become sultanas. By contrast, we do not come across the buildings of favourites who came from noble families – either Byzantine Princesses or daughters of local leaders – before fifteenth century, and this attests that those women at that time did not need a building to prove their high status.[7] Below is a catalogue of buildings which were patronized by the women of the Harem and endowed by the Ottomans prior to the sixteenth century.

We do not know of any building that can be linked to the wives of the first Ottoman ruler Osman Bey (r. 1299–1326); however, his son Orhan Bey's (r. 1326–62) wife, Nilüfer Hatun (d. 1383), is known to have built a dervish lodge, a masjid and a bridge in Bursa, the first capital of the Ottomans, while her son Murat I (r. 1362–89) built a soup kitchen in İznik in her name in 1388.[8] Gülçiçek Hatun (d. ca. 1400), the wife of Murat I and mother of Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402), endowed a complex in Bursa using her own wealth. According to her waqfiyya (endowment deed), dated to 1399/1400, it was composed of

a zawiyah (a multifunctional building serving as a soup kitchen, a school and a shrine usually used for unorthodox Islamic rituals), a tomb and houses and was built after she became the queen mother.[9] Another zawiyah was built, this time in the name of Devlet Hatun (d. 1413), the wife of Bayezid I and mother of Mehmed I (r. 1413–21), in Merzifon, where her son was born and grew up; on her death, Devlet Hatun's tomb was built in Bursa within her son's complex.[10] Hafsa Hatun, another wife of Bayezid I and the daughter of the head of the Aydınoğlu Principality leader, İsa Bey, built a fountain and a zawiyah near İzmir.[11]

Mehmed II (r. 1444–6, 1451–81) built a tomb and a primary school in the name of his mother, Hümâ Hatun (d. 1449), in Bursa in 1449.[12] Mehmed II's wife, Bayezid II's mother, Gülbahar Hatun (d. 1492) had a mosque in her name in Edirne.[13] After her son Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) ascended the throne, a complex consisting of a mosque, a madrasa and a soup kitchen was built in Tokat, as well as a masjid in a village nearby,[14] close to Amasya, where Bayezid II lived as a governor while he was a prince. Later, Sitti Mükrime Hatun (d. 1467), daughter of Dulkadiroğlu Principality leader, Süleyman Bey, and another wife of Mehmed II, built a mosque in Edirne within the palace gardens in 1484.[15]

In the early sixteenth century, Selim I (r. 1512–20) built a complex consisting of a mosque, a soup kitchen, a primary school, a madrasa, a Qur'anic school, a soup kitchen and a tomb in Trabzon in the name of his mother, Ayşe Gülbahar Hatun (d. 1510). Bülbül Hatun (d. 1515), one of Bayezid II's wives and mother to Prince Ahmed, built a mosque, a soup kitchen and a school in Amasya while her son was the governor of the city; around the same time, Hüsnüşah Hatun (d. after 1511), another wife of Bayezid II and the mother of Prince Şehinşah, built a mosque, a soup kitchen, a khan (traveller's lodgings) and a public bath in Manisa in 1490–1.[16] Selim I's wife and Süleyman I's (r. 1520–66) mother Ayşe Hafsa Sultan (d. 1534) built a double-minareted mosque, a soup kitchen, a madrasa, a zawiyah and a primary school in 1522 in Manisa, where her son was the governor, before becoming the sovereign[17] (Figure 2.1). She also built a mosque in Niš (in today's Serbia), a mosque and a public bath in Marmaris, a madrasa and soup kitchen in Trabzon and a caravansary complex in Havsa, between Istanbul and Edirne.[18]

When the above building activities of early Ottoman women are taken into consideration, it can be seen that their buildings were concentrated in or around Bursa, the first capital of the Ottoman State until the interregnum period (1402–13). It was only after Mehmed I established himself as the sole sovereign, by ending the fighting

among the four brothers, that the buildings of royal women started to gather in or around the provincial capitals, where princes were appointed to govern: thus, Devlet Hatun's commissions in Merzifon, Gülbahar Hatun's in Tokat, Bülbül Hatun's in Amasya, Hüsnüşah Hatun's and Ayşe Hafsa Sultan's in Manisa. Although in some cases it is not clear whether these buildings were built by mothers themselves or by their sons in their names, this practice became a tradition and continued up until the reign of Sultan Süleyman and Hürrem Sultan. In any case, these buildings were public demonstrations of the favourites' power in those provinces where their sons were acting as the highest governor, and those built once the prince became the sultan – and mother became queen mother – were symbols of gratitude to the respective city which had paved the way for the prince to the throne.

If we consider the extent, scale and building types of these patronages, we see that the royal women's buildings in the formative years of the Ottoman State were small-scale buildings such as zawiyahs or soup kitchens, and that as the state grew in power the buildings also grew, becoming mosques with zawiyahs in later years as the state itself became more centralized. Yet still, the buildings remained modest – primary schools rather than madrasas, for instance – until the reign of Mehmed II, who conquered Constantinople and transformed the Ottoman state into a powerful empire.[19] From the time of Mehmed II's son and successor Bayezid II, the scale and extent of royal women's complexes became larger, in line with this increase in state power and control, until it became comparable to the building projects of the sultans.[20]

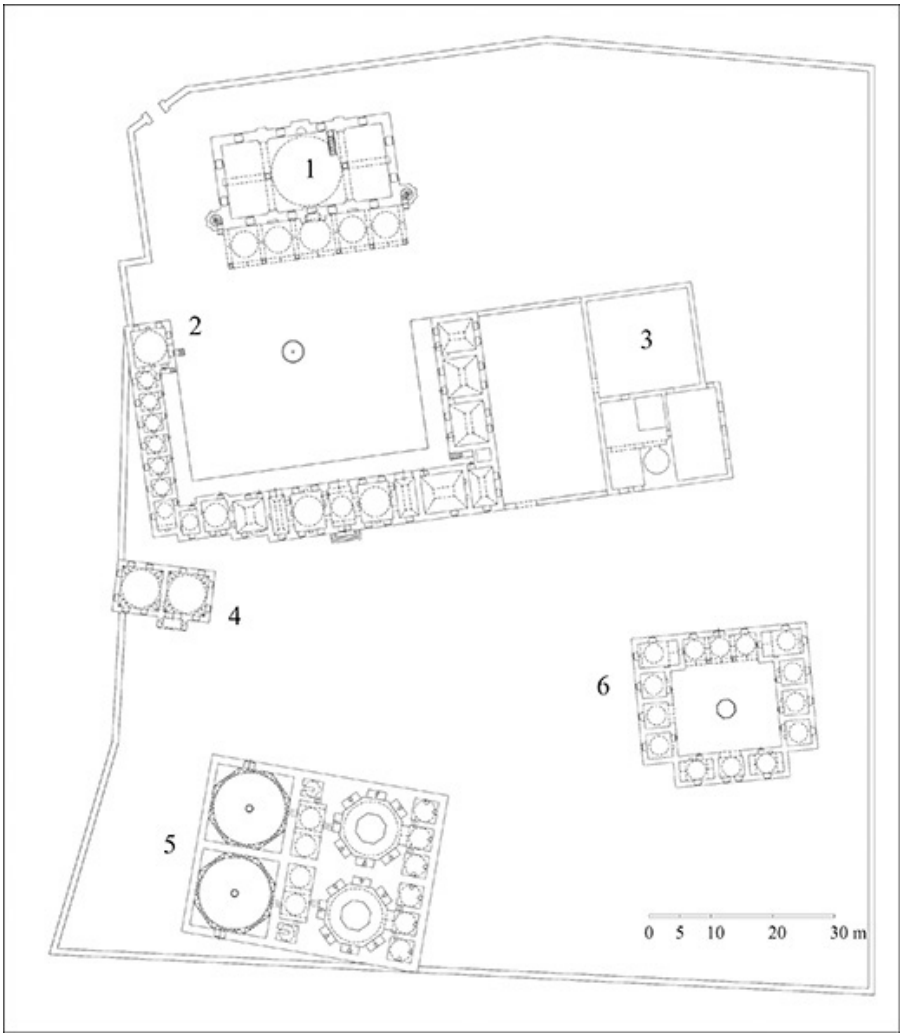


Figure 2.1 Floor plan of Hafsa Sultan Complex in Manisa: 1. double-minareted mosque, 2. madrasa, 3. soup kitchen, 4. primary school, 5. double bath, 6. hospital (drawn by Arben N. Arapi, archnet.org).

The role of women seems to also have been changing. In the case of Bayezid II's mother, the letters that Gülbahar Hatun wrote to her son give us a clue about her close relationship with her son and her significant involvement in state politics, a role which was similar to many later queen mothers.[21] Moreover, these letters also hint at a possible reason for an enlargement in the programmes of women's patronages; as their influence over their ruling sons increased, so might the extent of their building activities. Bayezid II's mother's and his two wives' complexes in the provinces can be taken as the first examples of this new paradigm, and the complexes of the mothers of his two immediate successors Selim I and Süleyman I in Trabzon and

Manisa follow in this new tradition. In particular, the Sultaniye Complex of Hafsa Sultan in Manisa, built immediately after her son's accession to throne in 1520, was the most significant example of royal women's buildings in the provinces, with its double-minareted mosque and extensive building programme[22] (Figure 2.1). These were the forebears, in scope and ambition, to the glorious female patronages in Istanbul and elsewhere, which began with the reign of Süleyman I.

Building Activities of Ottoman Royal Women from Hürrem Sultan to Hadice Turhan Sultan

Mahidevran Hatun (d. 1580), the first favourite of Süleyman I and the mother of his eldest prince Mustafa, was the last concubine to go to a province with her son; by contrast, his beloved favourite Hürrem Sultan, stayed in the palace by her husband's side, upturning previous tradition and giving an example for future favourites who followed in her footsteps.[23] This change in tradition had a knock-on effect on the administration of the state too. The appointment of the Ottoman princes to seats in the provinces came to a gradual end in the sixteenth century and their mothers, that is, favourites of the sultans, settled in the palace in Istanbul. This greater centralization eventually brought about what Lesley P. Peirce calls the 'sedentarization of the sultanate'[24]. Accordingly, the buildings of royal women, which had been concentrated in the provinces, were pulled towards the imperial capital and increased in number and prominence, just as Ottoman women concordantly became more significant figures in state politics; indeed, they were the immediate beneficiaries of this sedentarization of power.

According to Peirce, alongside the abandonment of princely governorates in the provinces, it was the transformation of the system of succession in the reign of Ahmed I, from an open contest for the throne among brothers to primogeniture – a system of seniority in which the eldest male member of the dynasty inherited the throne – that shifted the distribution of power in the Ottoman state in the favour of royal women. As princes lost power, their mothers gained it. Rather than proving their fitness to rule by apprenticeship in the provinces, the struggle for succession now took place within the boundaries of the Harem, with the direct involvement of favourites and queen mothers.[25] Therefore, while the palace became the scene of this struggle, the capital became an exhibition centre, housing the buildings of the royal women as the fruits of this competition and enabling them to trumpet their own triumphs. The higher status they gained, the greater the necessity and indeed the opportunity, these

Ottoman women had to legitimize their power through building activities.

On the other hand, this shift in power coincided with a striking transformation in the political and economic situation of the Ottoman Empire, taking it from its golden age in the early sixteenth century into the seventeenth century, a period rich in crises. Extended and unsuccessful military campaigns combined with a failure to keep up with striking transformations in military technology, the decay of the manorial system and rise of landlords, monetary depreciation due to inflation and a strengthening in European currencies, resulted in a string of economic struggles and rebellions across the Empire. Contemporary Ottoman chroniclers concluded that the problems they witnessed were due to the influence and bias of certain religious sects on state administration, military incompetence, corruption (especially in the manorial system), bribery, the unfair appointment of state and military officers and, last but not least, the involvement of women in state affairs.[26]

Nevertheless, royal women maintained their power during the seventeenth century and could be credited with saving the Empire from even worse conditions by compensating for the waning power of their husbands and sons. Accordingly, they took over the role of architectural patronage and embarked upon building activities not only for themselves but for also the reigning sultan and the prestige of the state. The so-called ‘sultanate of women’ also gave way to a new generation of women builders, whose motivations were different from those of their predecessors, as were the scope and location of their buildings. Therefore, in this section, we will track the building activities of those Ottoman women who formed the true examples for Gülnuş Sultan, starting from the unusual patronage of Hürrem Sultan, the initiator of ‘the sedentarization of the sultanate’ and the originating force behind ‘the sultanate of women’.

Hürrem Sultan was such a powerful and influential figure that her intimacy with Süleyman I could result in changes of vizier or in the choice of heir apparent, and her letters to her husband show that she was even able to manipulate matters of foreign affairs.[27] Contemporary observers were so puzzled with the sultan's passion for Hürrem and her unparalleled privileges that some even surmised she was a witch.[28] For some, perhaps, it could be thought that her ‘witchery’ helped her to build extensively; however, the evolution of Ottoman women's place within state administration and their corresponding patronage demystifies such metaphysical explanations.

As Hürrem broke with tradition and stayed in the capital by her husband instead of going to a province with her prince, she had the

chance to be the first favourite to build a mosque complex in Istanbul. Although the mosque was a basic single-domed unit with a single minaret, it was accompanied by a madrasa, a primary school, a soup kitchen and, later, a hospital (Figure 2.2). Since she built this complex, which also gave its name to the Haseki district, in 1538 when her prince was coming of age, this building activity was faithful to the tradition of previous Ottoman favourites' patronages in the provinces, where they had built in order to pay tribute to their sons. Later, she built three other complexes in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, consisting of a soup kitchen, a madrasa and a guest house, while the one in Jerusalem also contained a mosque, a khan, a public bath and other elements. Located in the three holy cities of Islam, these buildings symbolized both Hürrem's faith and the dynasty's religious protectionism. Thus, it was not merely the number of buildings that diverged so markedly from her predecessors, but also their special locations, at the very limits of the Empire, that made Hürrem's patronage all the more distinguished.[29]

Hürrem's patronage was not limited to these projects. She built a double bath on the ceremonial route adjacent to Hagia Sophia in the centre of the Old City, another one in the crowded commercial centre of Eminönü on the shores of the Golden Horn and a khan close to the Grand Bazaar in Istanbul. She also built a mosque in Ankara, waterways in Edirne, a mosque, a soup kitchen and a primary school in Svilengrad in today's Bulgaria, and another madrasa in Istanbul.[30] She repaired the Ayn Zübeyde waterways that supplied water to Mecca and she actively participated in the building process of the funerary mosque complex of her son, *Şehzade* Mehmed.[31] Even though she never became Valide Sultan because of her early death, the immense patronage of Hürrem Sultan formed a true prototype for future generations of favourites and queen mothers.

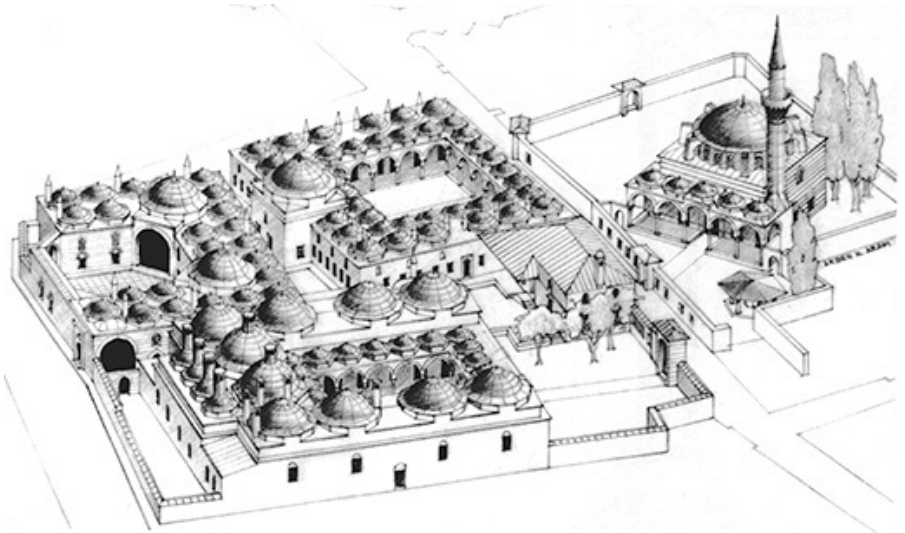


Figure 2.2 Hürrem Sultan's complex in Istanbul, with its mosque, madrasa, primary school, soup kitchen and hospital (drawn by Arben N. Arapi, after Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* [London: Reaktion Books, 2005], p. 273).

Gülfem Hatun (d. after 1561), another consort of Süleyman I, came onto the scene after Hürrem Sultan's death in 1558. Although she did not give birth to a child of Süleyman, her mosque in Üsküdar attests to her importance in his eyes and confirms Istanbul as the scene of preference for the favourites' building.[32] This hipped-roofed mosque was built before 1560/1, and its endowment deed shows that it was accompanied by a soup kitchen and several shops to supply income to the complex. Further afield, a fountain in Manisa was also built by Gülfem Hatun.[33]

Building multi-minareted imperial mosques in Istanbul with the booty of successful campaigns had become an established tradition of Ottoman sultans, starting with Mehmed II. However, the Ottoman golden period came to a close with the death of Süleyman I, and his son Selim II (r. 1566–74) and grandson Murat III (r. 1574–95) only achieved minor military victories with armies commanded by their viziers, not by themselves; consequently, no victory mosques were built by sultans in Istanbul during this period.[34] The void was filled by Selim II's favourite and Murad III's mother Nurbanu Sultan's (d. 1583) complex in Üsküdar, which was started in the reign of Selim II, after she had consolidated her power as favourite, and completed in the reign of Murad III when she had become Queen Mother.[35] Transforming the cityscape of Üsküdar, this splendid complex was comparable with Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul's Old City and

consisted of a double-minareted mosque, a madrasa, a dervish convent, a primary school, a hadith school, a double caravanserai, a soup kitchen, a hospital, a guesthouse and a double bath (Figure 2.3). Three other public baths in Üsküdar, Yenikapı and Çemberlitaş were also built to generate income for Nurbanu's waqf.[36]

Nurbanu's patronage not only consolidated her status but supplied the splendour needed by the dynasty, and formed an example for future royal women who would take over the role of patronage at times of political and economic strife. Nurbanu became the initiator of the custom of 'mother queens building instead of their reigning sons', and the symbol of women's patronage shifting from favourites to queen mothers.[37] Ottoman dynastic politics in the late sixteenth century were reshaped by Nurbanu's application of personal power, and her complex in Üsküdar was the symbol of this reshaping. With this one structure alone, she succeeded in both abolishing the bureaucrats' and *ulema*'s criticisms of 'maladministration of the state', and also won the heart of society with her addition of extensive charitable buildings in the city.[38]

After Nurbanu's death, Murad III's favourite Safiye Sultan's (d. 1619) power in the Harem dramatically increased. When she herself became Queen Mother to her son Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603), she held immense political power, which is attested to not only by contemporary chroniclers and Venetian ambassadors, but, most visibly, in her attempt to build Eminönü New Mosque.[39] She was also building in her son's name and she chose Eminönü, the crowded commercial and harbour district of Istanbul, to give the monument ultimate visibility thanks to its distinguished placement by the sea. At that time, Eminönü was a Jewish neighbourhood, and the construction of the mosque involved expropriating many Jewish houses and businesses then in situ on the site. She started the construction of her complex in 1598 and plans included a mosque, a soup kitchen and a guest-house. Her hope was to legitimize her building campaign through arguing the positive side to the Islamization of a non-Muslim neighbourhood.[40] On completion, the mosque would replace churches and synagogues that had previously existed in Eminönü; such an act signified radical religious and demographic transformation at the site.[41]

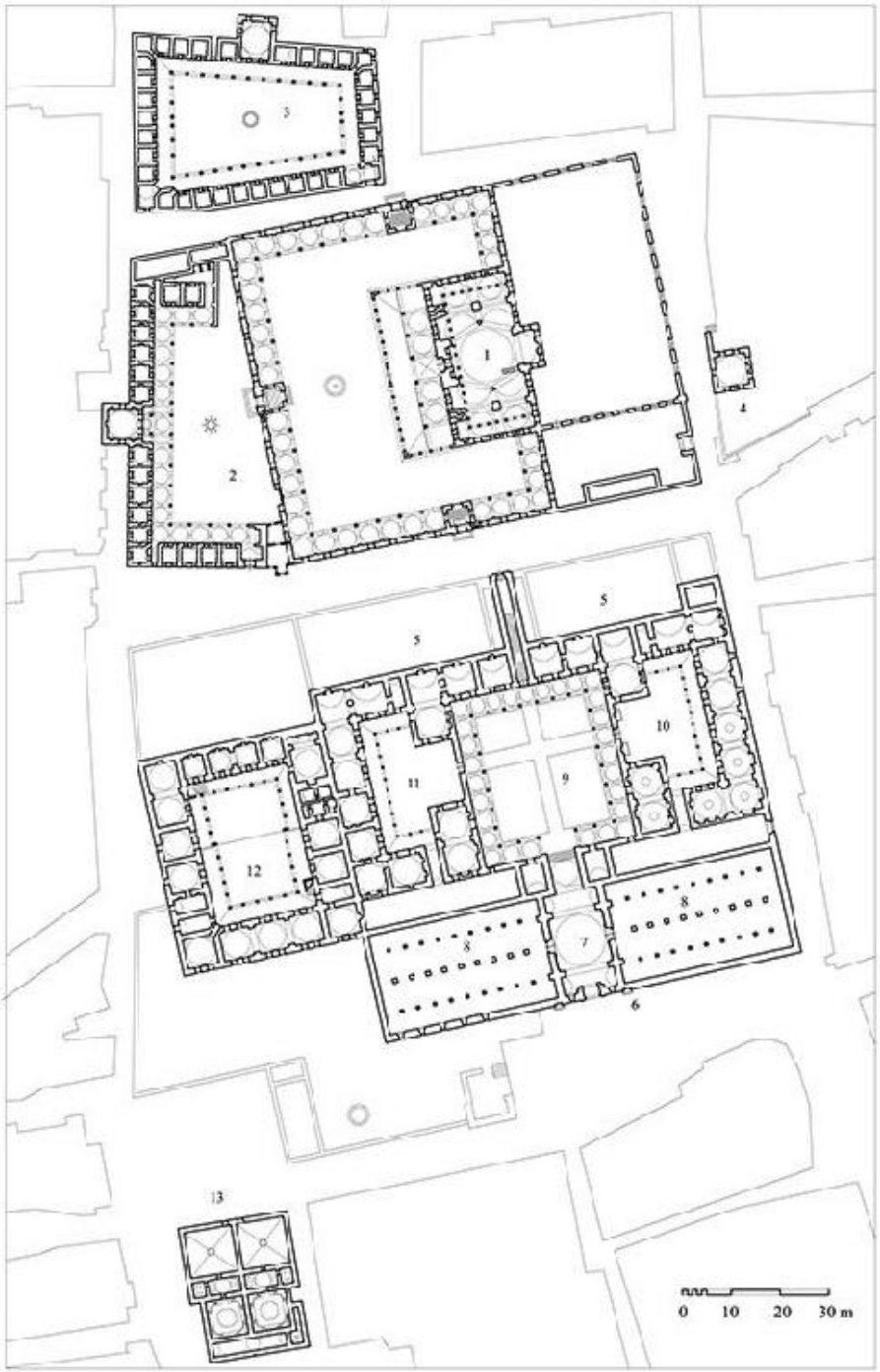


Figure 2.3 Plan of Nurbanu Sultan's complex in Üsküdar: 1. mosque, 2. madrasa, 3. convent, 4. elementary school, 5. hadith college and Qur'an recitation school, 7. vestibule, 8. double caravanserai with stables, 9. soup kitchen courtyard, 10. soup kitchen, 11. guesthouse,

12. hospital, 13. double bath (drawn by Arben N. Arapi, after Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, p. 282).

However, the construction of the complex started in a time of crisis, when the Ottomans were at war with Austria and facing the Celali uprisings.[42] The situation abroad brought opposition to such an expensive building campaign at home. Indeed, Venetian sources report that the janissaries and other court officials saw Safiye Sultan as the source of such disorders, criticizing the consumption of money for the construction of a superb mosque; construction was halted briefly, but resumed after a while.[43] Yet when Mehmed III died in 1603, Safiye lost her position as queen mother, was sent to the Old Palace and the construction was halted again. Construction stopped completely after her death in 1605, when the height of the mosque reached only to the first level of windows. Mehmed III's successor Ahmed I (r. 1603–17) was not interested in continuing the construction, and the site became an unclaimed place and was castigated as *zulmiye* (an act of oppression) on account of what were seen as unjust expropriations and extravagant expenditures by Safiye Sultan, until the area was inhabited by Jews again.[44] This failed building attempt became an important example for future generations, as it clearly showed that a patron – either male or female – should take the economic, political and social circumstances into serious consideration before embarking upon such elaborate and controversial construction projects.

On the other hand, this setback did not halt Safiye Sultan's projects entirely. She built a masjid and a fountain in the Karamanlı village of Üsküdar,[45] and she also took over the construction of another mosque in Cairo, which had been started by Chief Harem Eunuch Osman Ağa and had halted after his death. Safiye resumed the construction at an uncertain time, either because she was in search for another charitable work after the New Mosque's failure in Eminönü, or because she had to confine herself to a building outside Istanbul after being sent to the Old Palace.[46] Nevertheless, it can be recorded as one of her successes. Although the mosque was completed in 1610 – after Safiye's death – according to its inscription panel, it is known as Melike Safiye Mosque and still stands in Egypt today as a unique example of Ottoman women's patronage in Africa.



Figure 2.4 Sultan Ahmed Complex, Istanbul, with six-minareted Blue Mosque in the background, madrasa and tomb of Ahmed I, as well as the resting place of Kösem Sultan, in the foreground (author's photograph, 2016).

We do not come across any building associated with Handan Sultan (d. 1605), neither when she was the favourite of Mehmed III nor during her short tenure as queen mother to Ahmed I.[47] Her early death in the second year of Ahmed I's reign prevented her from embarking upon any architectural patronage to pay testimony to both herself and her son. Therefore, Ahmed I took over this role, building an imperial mosque in Istanbul for the first time after Süleyman I.

Sultan Ahmed's ambitious six-minareted mosque complex sitting across a public square from Hagia Sophia, the grandest mosque of the city, was controversial from its inception. In particular, it was highly criticized by the *ulema* (Islamic clerics) after its completion in 1616, who protested that it was 'the infidel's mosque', since Ahmed I had not participated in any military campaign and that the complex was built using money from the state's treasury rather than booty[48] (Figure 2.4). This criticism formed an important deterrent for later sovereigns, and for more than a century they returned to the practice of handing over responsibility for architectural patronage to their mothers. Yet, despite this cautionary tale, the mosque itself became a landmark of the city and a major attraction for travellers over the centuries, who came to know it as Istanbul's Blue Mosque due to the rich blue İznik tiles which adorn its interior.

Between 1617 and 1623, three different sultans became sovereign and four coronations took place, and this turbulent period was not conducive for favourites or queen mothers to engage in extensive

building activities. Such was the disorderly nature of the time that even the normally meticulous Ottoman record-keeping failed and a queen mother's name – the mother of Mustafa I (r. 1617–18, 1622–3) – was thought to be lost to history; only recently was she rediscovered as Halime Sultan.[49] Ahmed I's first favourite and the mother of Osman II (r. 1618–22), Mahfiruz Sultan (d. 1620), died in the third year of her son's reign, having built only a modest Qur'an recitation lodge (*cüzhane*) next to Eyüp Sultan Mosque, where she was also buried.[50]

These inconsequential figures were followed by one of the most influential Harem members of the Ottoman Empire – Mahpeyker Kösem Sultan (d. 1651), who started her career as the favourite of Ahmed I and occupied the seat of queen mother during the reigns of her sons Murat IV (r. 1623–40) and İbrahim I (r. 1640–8) in addition to the first three years of her grandson Mehmed IV's (r. 1648–87) reign, where she enjoyed the position of *Valide-i Muazzama* (Supreme Queen Mother). She was an extremely powerful queen mother, as she acted as the regent to Murad IV and Mehmed IV, who were only twelve and seven years old, respectively, when they ascended the throne, while she also oversaw the reign on İbrahim I, who suffered from mental problems throughout his tenure, which ended in execution.[51] Unlike Hürrem Sultan, as a favourite Kösem preferred 'invisible' acts of charity, such as distributing money to the poor people of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem or supplying water to pilgrims, rather than extensive building activities, as her chief concern was to avoid public censure.[52] She also financed the marriages of poor men and women, and paid the debts of prisoners in order to release them.[53]

However, when she became queen mother she began to build. The first building activity of Kösem Sultan was probably Anadolukavağı Masjid, a two-storeyed mosque, built, according to Ayvansarayî, at the same time as the castle of Anadolukavağı in 1623/4.[54] Kösem Sultan's masjid was built on the site of the Hieron Temple, and next to a castle that Murad IV built or repaired in order to protect the capital from a possible attack of Cossacks threatening the Bosphorus Strait.[55] However, Kösem's most significant building was a khan called Büyük Valide Han, which was built during Murad IV's reign together with a masjid in the middle of lodging's courtyard.[56] Located in the commercial district between Eminönü and the Grand Bazaar, this patronage differs from that of previous women builders', with its emphasis on income-generation rather than religion or education.

With the unexpected death of Murad IV, just as according to Venetian sources he was planning to embark an extensive building activity similar to that of his father Ahmed I, the opportunity and

responsibility for architectural patronage passed once again to his mother Kösem. Rather than build another extravagant building in the Old City, soon after her younger son İbrahim's coronation she opted to build a modest complex at the edge of Üsküdar, in all likelihood a bold attempt to improve both her sons' popularity at a time when the Ottoman dynasty faced a crisis of extinction, with no heir apparent to step into the royal seat.[57] The Çinili Complex was completed in 1640 and was composed of a single-minareted 9-metre-wide domed mosque, a madrasa, a primary school, a fountain, a water dispenser and a double bath[58] (Figure 2.5).

Kösem also repaired and transformed the madrasa of Özdemiroğlu Osman Pasha in Istanbul into a masjid, and added a grand fountain next to it.[59] She built two more fountains in Şehremini and Yenikapı.[60] She was also the first Ottoman royal woman whose name was given to a converted religious building in a conquered city. After the capture of Rethymno in Crete in 1646, one of the many converted churches of the city was named after her: Valide Sultan Mosque in Ortakapı.[61]

Hadice Turhan Sultan (d. 1683), who was the favourite of İbrahim I and the mother of Mehmed IV, gained the title of Queen Mother at a young age, when her son was enthroned at the tender age of seven. However, she remained overshadowed by Kösem Sultan's power until she became the sole leader of the Harem in 1651.[62] From Kösem's death until Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's appointment as the Grand Vizier in 1656, she was always alongside Mehmed IV, attending his court meetings with viziers, and receiving the grand viziers' official reports regarding state administration, warfare and economic issues.[63] However, Turhan Sultan's early tenure as Queen Mother was beset by a series of unfortunate events for the Empire. The navy's defeat by the Venetians in 1655 was followed soon after by an uprising of the janissaries; then, in 1656, the islands at the entrance of the Çanakkale Strait were captured by the Venetians.[64] To limit the extent of these failures, Turhan Sultan appointed a strong-man, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, as Grand Vizier and he wielded immensely extended powers.

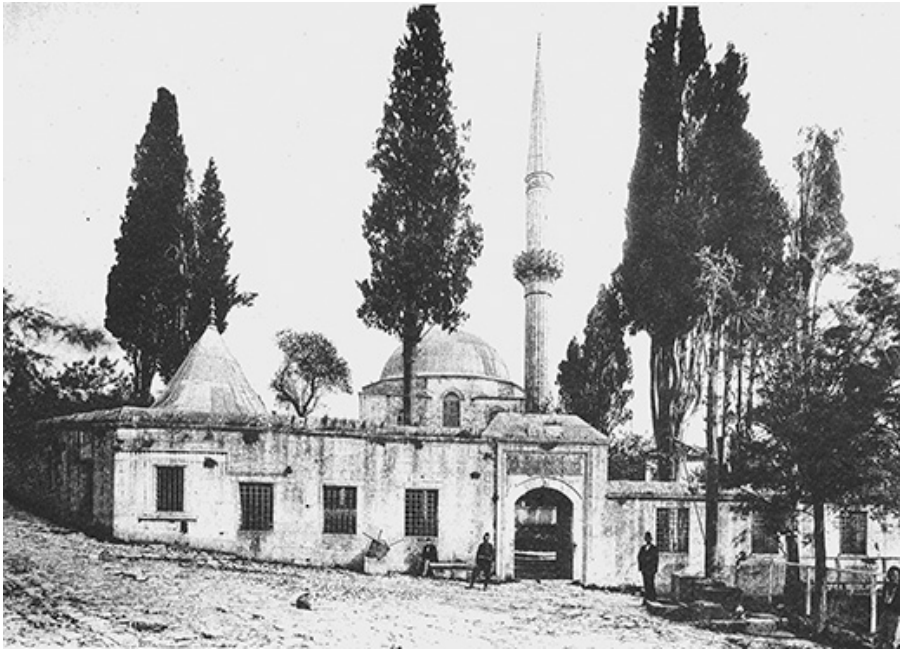


Figure 2.5 Kösem Sultan's Çinili Complex in Üsküdar in early twentieth century (after Cornelius Gurlitt, *İstanbul'un Mimari Sanatı* [Ankara: Enformasyon ve Dokümantasyon Hizmetleri Vakfı, 1999], plate 31c).

In terms of building activities, putting aside the fountain that Turhan Sultan built next to the Beşiktaş Palace on the seashore in 1652/3,[65] her first important building decisions as Valide Sultan were closely related with these turbulent events. In order to protect the Dardanelles and Istanbul from probable attacks, she built the Seddülbahir and Kumkale fortresses and repaired Kilit Bahir and Kale-i Sultaniye, which had been built by Mehmed II in the fifteenth century. By doing so, she strengthened the military capacity of the Empire and, consequently, Mehmed IV's power.[66] Clearly important building ventures for the dynasty, in 1661, Turhan Sultan and Mehmed IV visited Çanakkale together in order to survey the newly constructed citadels of Seddülbahir and Kumkale.[67]



Figure 2.6 Eminönü New Mosque, Istanbul (author's photograph, 2011).

However, Turhan Sultan's most renowned building activity was the completion of Eminönü's New Mosque Complex.[68] After the fire of 1660 devastated much of the Old City of Istanbul, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha suggested that Safiye Sultan's unfinished project on the docks be resumed and Turhan Sultan began construction in 1661. The fire was attributed to divine compulsion, as is detailed both by chroniclers and within the endowment deed of the mosque, which argued that the fire had been sent to quell the ire of God who was said to have chosen to punish those Jews who had re-inhabited the site after building was suspended; hence Turhan Sultan was appreciated for her efforts in transforming a site of 'infidels' into a holy shrine of Islam, as if the land itself had been reconquered for the faith.[69] Despite the protests surrounding Ahmed I's complex next to Hagia Sophia some 50 years previously, the political constraints of the 1660s and the rise of Kadızadeli movement[70] seemed to secure legitimacy and appreciation for Turhan Sultan's patronage this time around.

When the complex was completed in 1663, it became one of the most remarkable monuments of Istanbul, with its double-minareted mosque standing on the seafront in the main harbour, and symbolizing a celebration of both its patron and the dynasty in the most crowded site of the city (Figure 2.6). The royal pavilion, which was attached to the mosque, offered unique vistas for its occupants, that is, the Queen Mother and the Sultan, over all their subjects.[71] The

covered bazaar, known as the Egyptian market in Turkish, and today, the Spice Bazaar of countless tourists, was a crucial element of the complex, as it provided income for the waqf of both the complex and the royal family, and was an important opportunity for Muslim traders to replace the shops of Jews and Christians thus breaking the non-Muslim monopoly on the commerce of the area.[72] The subsidiary elements of the complex included a Qur'anic school, a primary school, a fountain, a water dispenser and, on her death, the tomb of Turhan Sultan. This tomb reflects the power of Turhan Sultan even more clearly than her mosque, grandiose as it is in size and scope as the resting place for many members of the Ottoman dynasty. The traditional burial of Ottoman sultans within their individual tombs changed with this building; six Ottoman sultans – including her son and grandsons – are laid to rest next to her (Figure 9.1).[73]

One of Turhan Sultan's later acts of piety was establishing a waqf for supplying water to pilgrims on their way to Mecca.[74] After Mehmed IV moved the Ottoman court from Istanbul to Edirne in 1663, she financed a kiosk in Edirne Palace, too.[75] With the conquest of Uyvar (today's Nové Zámky in Slovakia) in 1663, the second-biggest church of the city was converted into a mosque in her name.[76] Similarly, after the conquest of Heraklion in Crete in 1669, a church was converted into a mosque, while another was converted into a bath in her name.[77] With the conquest of Kamianets-Podilskyi in 1672, again, a church of the castle was converted into the Mosque of Valide Sultan.[78] Another building of Turhan Sultan was the Valide Mosque in Rumelikavağı, close to ancient Serapion, at the northern entrance of Bosphorus Strait. She started the construction a year before her death in 1682, but this building no longer exists today. This endowment reminds us of the mosque of Kösem Sultan, which sits on the opposite shore of the strait in Anadolukavağı, and could perhaps be regarded as challenging the building of her predecessor and rival.[79]

After Turhan Sultan, Saliha Dilaşub Sultan (d. 1690) occupied the seat of queen mother for three years during the short reign of her son Süleyman II (r. 1687–91), but she did not have the opportunity to embark on any building activities, in all likelihood due to the testy political and economic conditions after the unsuccessful Siege of Vienna in 1683. Ahmed II's (r. 1691–5) mother Hadice Muazzez Sultan (d. 1687) passed away before her son's coronation, and so never became queen mother. Therefore, we can find active patronage projects similar to those of Turhan Sultan only when Gülnuş Sultan appeared on the scene as the queen mother in 1695.

If we reconsider the Ottoman royal women mentioned in this section, we can see that the impact of Hürrem Sultan on the patronage

projects of later Ottoman royal women was very strong. Even though she did not become the queen mother, she was a very active patron throughout her tenure as the favourite of Süleyman I, and her influence on him probably broadened the scope of her activities. Unlike previous royal favourites with heirs to protect, Hürrem did not leave the capital with her prince, and she spearheaded both the centralization of patronage commissions within Istanbul and the extent of Ottoman women's buildings. Later Ottoman sultanas started to get more involved in state politics, and their patronages became bolder and more numerous; nevertheless, Hürrem's tenure was a turning point in this architectural history.

However, historical circumstances were also decisive in both limiting and determining the scale of female patronage projects in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a period in which the Golden Age of the Empire came to an end and the protracted decline alongside economic, social and political crises set in. Unlike Süleyman I and his predecessors, later Ottoman sultans started to hold back from participating in military campaigns and became less active in state affairs. The Harem precinct of the palace became much more important, as sultans too young to govern came to be mentored and shaped by their mothers. Power vacuums at the centre of the royal seat were filled by royal women, not just in politics but also in patronage. In the absence of booty from military victories, the tradition of constructing imperial mosques was implicitly handed over and entrusted to queen mothers, the Sultan Ahmed Mosque Complex being the single exception to this rule, and this building was itself roundly criticized as extravagant, as we have seen. Royal endowment projects were seen as physical markers of the power of both queen mothers and their sons, and symbolized religious piety at the heart of an Islamic empire. Consequently, these construction activities became a powerful instrument for all Ottoman women after Hürrem Sultan. At times they used this instrument to ameliorate the discontent arising from economic scarcity or military failures, at others to convey a message of benevolent rule, that ‘the dynasty is taking care of its subjects’, with their religious commissions such as mosques, madrasas, primary schools, soup kitchens or fountains. In other words, they both flattered and consoled the public, often disguising the reality of an ineffective sovereign through projections of power and majesty.

As a result, from the second half of the sixteenth century, the physical make-up of the capital bore the stamp of the women, rather than the men, of the Ottoman dynasty. Women's patronage went through many transfigurations too, when in the seventeenth century church conversions in newly conquered cities started to bear the

names of queen mothers, just as in the case of Kösem Sultan. This trend attested to the fact that women were considered more than fit representatives of the state at the frontiers. Thus, Turhan Sultan's fortresses in the Dardanelles were an extraordinary example of female patronage and conveyed the message that the Empire was protected by not only the Sultan, but also by a strong and powerful female figure, the Queen Mother, a potent symbol of the importance of female power at the very centre of the masculine world of Ottoman administration. It was this milieu in which Gülnuş Sultan found herself, and she too came to play her part in the ongoing 'Sultanate of Women', not only as a powerful actress in state politics but also with her building activities, as we shall see in the following chapters.

PART II

THE BUILDING ACTIVITIES OF GÜLNUŞ SULTAN

CHAPTER 3

CONQUEST AND CONVERSION: GÜLNUŞ SULTAN'S NAME ON THE FRONTIERS

On their way to Kamianets-Podilskyi in the summer of 1672, the advance of the Ottoman troops led by Sultan Mehmed IV was being hindered by heavy rain. It was getting more and more difficult to proceed on the muddy trails. Suddenly, the beautiful silver carriage of *Haseki* Gülnuş, beloved wife of the sultan, got stuck in the mud. She had accompanied her husband all the way from the palace in terrible weather, but now they were to be separated in order not to delay the army, which was intent on conquering the famous Polish fortress on the north-eastern fringes of the Empire. The Grand Vizier's men took many hours to extricate the Favourite's carriage from the quagmire and Gülnuş and her son, the future sultan Mustafa, were forced to wait patiently in Hacıoğlupazarı (today's Dobrich), until the victorious Sultan Mehmed returned with intriguing spoils from the front.

Although she couldn't make it all the way to Kamianets-Podilskyi, Gülnuş Sultan was rewarded with a mosque named after her, a converted church from the conquered city, in August 1672. Church conversions had long been an Ottoman custom: the first action after the conquest of any city was to redesignate the churches of that city as mosques. Usually, these new mosques bore the names of Ottoman notables, sultans, grand viziers, viziers or army commanders, but in recent conquests, queen mothers had come to be similarly honoured. The case in Kamianets-Podiskyi was no exception, as eight of the city's most important churches became mosques and were renamed after notables, including the Queen Mother Hadice Turhan Sultan. Nevertheless, Gülnuş Sultan was the first and the last favourite to be recognized in this way, receiving an honour even Hürrem Sultan herself did not achieve.

In her future career as the queen mother, Gülnuş Sultan achieved this honour of having churches converted into mosques in conquered cities twice more. Just days after she received news of Mustafa II's, her elder son's, accession to the throne in February 1695, she was told of the reconquest of Chios. There, a converted church, newly made a mosque, now bore her name, paying testament to the centrality of her

significance and loyalty to this victorious Islamic empire. During her second tenure as Queen Mother, when her younger son Ahmed III was on the throne, the unexpected capture of Oran in modern-day Algeria brought her a similar acquisition, in what was probably the most distant town from the Imperial capital.

All those three conversions were, in fact, nothing to do with her own will, choices or decisions, but all of them made her name in the frontiers, at the extremities of the Ottoman Empire's reaches, and proclaimed her dignity and honour to both Muslims and non-Muslims alike (Appendix 2). Now those buildings are all but unknown: two of them have long since disappeared and the other was converted back to a church before the death of Gülnuş Sultan. However, this chapter will attempt to resurrect the history of these interesting buildings, bringing out into the daylight their stories and their architecture.

Kamianets-Podilskyi: A Favourite's Footsteps in Europe

As we know, the very first building to bear the name of Gülnuş Sultan was simply the result of a military conquest in 1672. Mehmed IV's campaign to Kamianets-Podilskyi in Podolia was intended to reinforce Ottoman power in Eastern Europe and in the Black Sea by controlling an important outpost near Dniester River. At the same time, it was an attempt to gain the loyalty of the Cossacks to shore up Ottoman support against a potential looming enemy, Russia. However, there were also more mundane reasons why Sultan Mehmed was looking for battles abroad: he wished to keep control on the discipline of the army with frequent campaigns; he wanted replenishment of the royal coffers and he wanted glory and prestige – to become known throughout the empire as a *ghazi*, a warrior-sultan.[1] However, quite why the royal family, including the Queen Mother Hadice Turhan Sultan, his favourite Gülnuş Sultan and the Sultan's then-only son Prince Mustafa, accompanied the army was not so clear. Perhaps, Mehmed IV did not want to leave his beloved wife, mother, and heir-apparent behind and rather preferred to present the royal retinue as a symbol of the Sultan *and* his family's commitment to a holy war against the Catholics. However, the historical document is inconclusive, and we are left to speculate.

Despite the long and muddy trail from Edirne to Podolia (Appendix 3), in August 1672 Mehmed IV and his army succeeded in capturing the well-fortified city of Kamianets-Podilskyi, in Turkish *Kamaniçe*, situated alongside the meandering gorges of the Smotrych River. According to contemporary Ottoman chroniclers and eyewitness

historians, the first action the Ottomans took was to convert major churches in the town into mosques bearing the names of notables.[2] Poet Nabi's verse, 'Old churches that had been full of blasphemy/Now all became the shrines of Muhammed's followers,'[3] encapsulates this transformation, as Catholic churches adorned with Christian sculptures and murals had their 'idols' removed and underwent Islamic transformation. Mehmed IV himself participated in the first Friday prayer in his own new mosque, which had just been converted from the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul.[4] Gülnuş Sultan was also bestowed with one of the prominent buildings of the town, and the Dominican Church of St. Nicholas became the Haseki Sultan Mosque.[5] The privileged position of the building at the heart of the town and next to the Polish Market perfectly suited the rank of its new patron (Figure 3.1).

This medieval stone church, whose bulk has been preserved until the present day, dates from the early fifteenth century. The present structure had replaced an earlier wooden church on the same site. Although its history is somewhat unclear, a bell tower had been attached to its western front in the same century while the choir was being extended westwards with three adjoining naves. The adjacent convent buildings were built in stone in the sixteenth century. The flanking chapels on each side of the nave and choir had been added in 1596, 1611 and 1628, financed respectively by the Potocki family, Wojciech Humiecki and Pawel Damecki, and were dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary, the Crucified Christ and St. Dominic, respectively[6] (Plate 2).

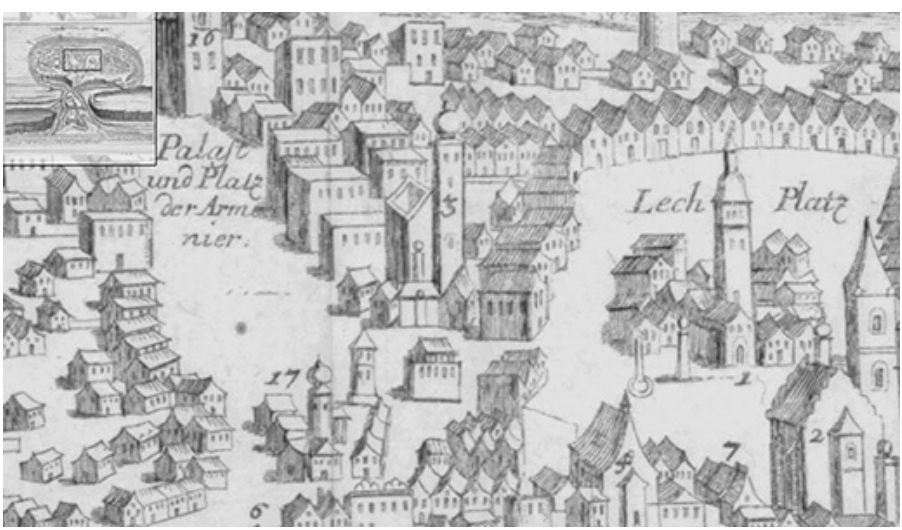


Figure 3.1 Detail from the 1693 German edition of the Tomaszewicz map, showing the St. Nicholas Church which was converted into

Haseki Gülnuş Sultan Mosque in the centre and Mehmed IV's mosque converted from the cathedral in lower right corner (source: http://rcin.org.pl).

With some minor alterations, it was this building which was transformed into the Haseki Sultan Mosque in 1672. Similar to the conversion of other churches, all the holy images visible in the church and bells on the tower were removed, as well as the Christian corpses buried in the crypt.[7] A mihrab (prayer niche) and minbar (pulpit) were installed, the latter of which still survives. It is likely that the already-existing bell tower of the church was used as a minaret, with no need for the addition of further minarets, since a single minaret was proper to the rank of the Haseki Sultan, its Islamic founder[8] (Figure 3.1). The archival sources depict a different approach to the conversion of Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul, by now bearing the name of Mehmed IV, as it was decided that two minarets should be added to the church, bringing the building into accordance with the design conventions for imperial mosques; the first is still present today but the second was never completed. In fact, Valide Hadice Turhan Sultan's mosque also acquired another minaret.[9] Nevertheless the bell tower was likely crowned with a cone and a crescent, once its purpose transformed from housing bells to housing the muezzin who called the Muslim faithful of the city to pray each day.

During its short life as a mosque (1672–99), the building went through a repair in 1680, as did the mosque of Mehmed IV.[10] It is related that the daughter of Halil Pasha, the first governor of *Kamaniçe*, was buried there[11], which implies that the garden to the east of the church came to be used as the *hazire* (cemetery garden) of the mosque. However, none of the tomb-stones have survived, as the site had a further experience of disinterment, this time with Polish Christians exhuming the corpses of Turkish Muslims just like the Turks had previously done with Christian remains.[12] It is also related that Halil Pasha built a fountain for the memory of his daughter in the monastery courtyard[13], but no remains survive. Sources show us that the convent buildings adjacent to the church were probably used as the barracks and arsenal of the janissary troops,[14] suggesting that the Haseki Sultan Mosque might have been one of the most frequented mosques in the town. However, some other sources remark that those buildings were located elsewhere and have since been destroyed.[15]

The staff of the Gülnuş Sultan's mosque was composed of 12 people, including one person who would serve simultaneously as an *imam* (prayer leader), a *sermahfil* (chief of the Muslim assembly), and a *hatip* (chief preacher), alongside three *muezzins* (prayer callers), two *kayyums* (mosque managers), two *devirhans* (reciters of the Qur'an), a

muarrif (one who mentions the names of benefactors, that is, Gülnuş Sultan, before prayer), a *vaiz* (a preacher), a *mütevelli* (a trustee), and a *ferraş ve kandilci* (a mosque sweeper and oil lamp lighter), who received a combined income of 155 *akçes* per day.[16] The salaries of the employees of the three imperial mosques were placed on the salary lists together with those of the garrison troops in *Kamaniçe*.[17] If this fact is taken into account, when combined with the fact that we lack foundation deeds for both the mosque of Gülnuş Sultan and that of Mehmed IV[18], it can be deduced that the Haseki Sultan Mosque was most probably sponsored from the state treasury. This financial set up was different from Gülnuş Sultan's future foundations.

Like other converted churches in *Kamaniçe*, Haseki Sultan Mosque was abandoned after the Treaty of Karlowitz.[19] Nevertheless, there were months of delay for the soldiers' final retreat from the town: although the retreat had been scheduled to begin on 15 May, the last Ottoman troops left on 22 September 1699[20]. This means that, in all likelihood, the building functioned as a mosque up until this later date. Immediately after that, the building was recovered by the Dominicans, but it was not restored until 1737. After a long period of neglect, during which the convent buildings fell into a state of ruin, Jan de Witte, with the financial aid of Michal Franciszek Potocki, undertook a restoration project which took seventeen years. It was during this reconstruction that the building obtained today's baroque western front and its bell tower, as well as adjoining the Potocki House.[21] But interestingly, the most important remnant of the mosque, the minbar, remained within the church.

For this reason, the layout of the church today is in fact very similar to the building which was converted into a mosque during the Ottoman era. Today's building, the plan of which is given in Figure 3.2, consists of an oriented pseudo-basilical body with the accompanying chapels, and an adjacent monastery and refectory. The outer courtyard wall surrounds the church from the east and forms a closed backyard. The inner courtyard of the monastery faces the southern façade of the church, hence, the U-shaped monastery is situated to the south of the church. The main entrance to the building leads via the porch beneath the bell tower and is covered with a cross vault. Once one steps inside, a three-naved building is perceived, with an elongated main nave, wider and higher than the to two side naves. The main nave consists of three cross-vaulted square units, the last of which opens to the choir. On each side of the last two western units are the aisles, consisting of two rectangular units covered with cross vaults. All units are separated with semi-circular arches. The nave to the north was also known as St. Valentine Chapel, and the one to the

south as St. Catherine Chapel. At the sides of the first eastern units there are two square-shaped domed chapels. The one to the north is the Chapel of the Crucified Jesus Christ and the one to the south is the Chapel of Our Lady of Rosary. These two chapels create a pseudo-transept effect and give the overall plan a cross shape. To the east of the Chapel of the Crucified Jesus Christ lies the Chapel of St. Dominic, which is entered from the northern wall of the choir.

Although there is a lack of visual or written documents describing the interior of Gülnuş Sultan's mosque, the possible positioning of the liturgical elements can be inferred considering the typical decoration of mosques. First of all, the interior of the church – the medieval Gothic choir, nave and flanking chapels as well as Renaissance style chapels added later – must have been used as the prayer hall of the mosque, with all pews removed and all of the floors covered with carpets or matting. The mihrab of the mosque, which must have faced towards Mecca, was probably opened on the southern wall of the choir. The present door on this wall, which leads to the monastery courtyard, may well have been partly covered and used as the niche of the prayer leader.[22] The *minbar*, which is now attached to the southern wall of the choir by its long side, must have been attached to the same wall by its shorter side, its entrance looking towards north. There would also have been separate platforms, either wooden or stone, nearer to the northern wall: a *kürsü* (lectern) for the *vaiz* (preacher) and a *mahfil* (platform) for the *muezzin*s (prayer caller) (Figure 3.2).

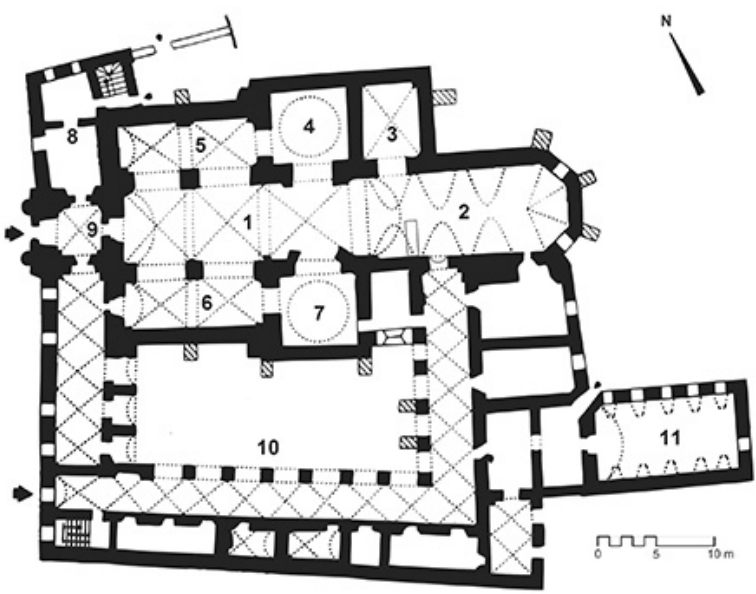


Figure 3.2 The plan of St. Nicholas Church and Convent in Kamianets-Podilskyi: 1. main nave, 2. choir, 3. Chapel of St. Dominic, 4. Chapel of the Crucified Christ, 5. Chapel of St. Valentine, 6. Chapel of St. Catherina, 7. Chapel of Our Lady of the Rosary, 8. Potocki House, 9. bell tower, 10. monastery and its courtyard, 11. refectory. The mihrab and the minbar that once lay inside the Mosque of Haseki Gülnuş Sultan were probably attached to the southern wall of the choir, as indicated by the author on the plan in grey (redrawn by Ayça Tercioğlu on the plan of Janusz Smaza).

Undoubtedly the most important monument that remains from the building's period as a mosque is the minbar – the stone pulpit, which is now preserved within the church. Like the building itself, the minbar suffered a turbulent history. It was made of sandstone, and features several pieces of reused material, such as the fragment of a tomb-stone bearing a Latin inscription inserted on its side facing to the wall, while another spolia, a reused stone slab, is hidden beneath the balcony. Some parts of the minbar, the remnants of which can now be seen in the pulpit, carry traces of the original colour scheme of red, blue and green. This evidence indicates an important part of its original decoration. However, after the renovation of the church in the eighteenth century, the minbar was rotated by 90 degrees and relocated to its present position. It was also in all likelihood around this time that the minbar itself became considerably transformed: the elements of the removed canopy like the stalactite adornments were incorporated into the balcony's ornamental openwork fence, handrails were fabricated for one of the banisters and for two of the three fences of the balcony.[23] In the year 1936, the pulpit was moved as a showpiece to the Museum of Religion and Atheism, which was set up in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Cathedral.[24] Finally, in the summer of 2005, it was moved back to the Dominican church and positioned just as it had been after its reconsecration as a church[25] (Figure 3.3).

All in all, this pulpit stands silently inside today's Dominican Church of St. Nicholas in Kamianets-Podilskyi and whispers its Ottoman secrets – that for 27 years the building had functioned as the Mosque of Haseki Gülnuş Sultan. And this fact in turn points out an extraordinary historical anomaly, as this was the only church to be converted into a mosque in the name of a favourite in the long course of Ottoman history. Men of the Empire were used to having favours bestowed upon them, although there had been a ‘novel’ trend of naming some of the converted churches after queen mothers in the seventeenth century: a conversion in the name of Kösem Valide Sultan after the conquest of Rethymno in Crete in 1646;[26] the conquest of Uyvar (today's Nove Zamky in Slovakia) in 1663 brought Valide

Hadice Turhan Sultan a converted church[27] as did the conquest of Heraklion in Crete in 1669.[28] At that time, Gülnuş Sultan, who had become the mother of *Şehzade* Mustafa in 1664, was not 'honoured' with a converted church. What, then, could be the reason for the change of this custom within three years?



Figure 3.3 The minbar of the Haseki Gülnuş Sultan Mosque in Kamianets-Podilskyi (author's photograph, 2012).

Marc David Baer claims that 'one mosque was given to the favourite concubine, Gülnuş Emetullah, a consolation prize perhaps for her diligence in accompanying the sultan through the mud most of the way to this remote citadel in Poland.'[29] However, this is a somewhat-ungenerous interpretation of the intentions behind Sultan Mehmed's gift; rather, it is more likely that he sought to recognize and reward her own heroism on the campaign, implying her status alongside him as 'ghazi', in theory at least, if not officially. Of course, on the other hand, the gift of one of the conquered city's most prestigious buildings could also simply be proof of the affection in which Gülnuş Sultan was held by her sultan. Thus, her name was given to a building in the northernmost tip of the Ottoman territories and she became a unique example of such patronage among all favourites.

Chios: The New Queen Mother's Name on the Reconquered Island

In 1695, during her first days as the new Valide Sultan, Gülnuş Sultan was unexpectedly rewarded with another building in her name. Just as with Kamianets-Podilskyi, the building was another converted church, this time in the newly reconquered city of Chios. The island of Chios had fallen under Venetian control for approximately six months, and after recapturing the island, the Ottomans were ready to take revenge for this unlooked-for occupation. Retaliation was swift: three Catholic churches in the capital of the island were requisitioned and transformed into mosques named after the sultan, the queen mother and the commander of the conquering army; other churches were less fortunate – they were destroyed and their parishioners oppressed mercilessly.

Church conversions were not new to the island, and many had gradually taken place since the first Ottoman conquest in 1566. Chios was perfectly located on the sea routes from Istanbul to several eastern Mediterranean harbours and, prior to the conquest, had signified the last outpost of the Genoese in the Aegean Sea. For the Ottomans, Chios was a strategic prize, being crucially connected to the trade routes as well as a foreign power but a few miles off the Empire's mainland. Thus, after an offensive led by Grand Admiral Piyale Pasha in 1566, the Genoese lost the island. Soon after, the first church on the island was converted, Hagios Georgios Church which

was located in the Castro, the castle of Chios, and being the oldest and largest church it was named after Süleyman the Magnificent.[30] Yet another, the Franciscan Church of Santa Maria della Grazie, located just outside the castle, was converted in the same year in the name of the conqueror of the island, Piyale Pasha.[31]

The Catholics fled from Chios the first chance they got after the conquest, but later they resettled as their bishopric was recognized by the Ottomans.[32] However, their existence in the island was highly contingent on the Ottoman's buffeting relationship with Catholic countries. For instance, after the Florentine attack of 1599, most Catholics were exiled from the island.[33] One of the Catholic churches in the Castro must have been converted into a mosque soon after this event, as it was named after Cigalazade Yusuf Sinan Pasha[34], who had served as the Grand Admiral twice: 1591–5 and 1598–1604.[35] Another naval defeat offshore Chios in 1613 possibly paved the way to a further conversion.[36] The defeated Grand Admiral (and future grand vizier) Öküz Mehmed Pasha had taken revenge by converting the last Catholic Church in the castle, which was dedicated to both Santa Maria and Saints Peter and Paul, and the Bishop perforce made Santa Maria di Travena outside Castro his new cathedral.[37]

The Venetian invasion of Chios in September 1694 should be seen as part of the War of the Holy League and the final phase of the Morean War. At that time, the city surrendered and the Muslims had had to leave the island, along with those Orthodox Greeks who were compelled to convert to Catholicism but had refused to do so.[38] During the six months of the Venetian occupation, the mosques and most of the Orthodox churches lost their activity and the former Latin churches regained their original function and significance. This can be gleaned from the maps drawn during the short Venetian rule in Chios, where three churches are seen within the Castro and several others in the surrounding neighbourhoods.[39]

The reconquest of the island by the Ottomans was as unexpected as its invasion by the Venetians. After a naval defeat off the coast of Chios in February, the Venetians left the city having looted the Orthodox churches; this left the island undefended when Ottoman forces landed on the island on 21 February 1695.[40] Four Catholic leaders were hanged, the properties of Catholics were seized, and all the Latin churches in Chios town were either pulled down or converted into mosques.[41] Three of them, which were located outside the castle, were named after the newly enthroned Sultan Mustafa II, the brand new Queen Mother Gülnuş Sultan and the commander of the conquering army, Mısırlızade İbrahim Pasha.[42] The formerly converted mosques in the castle were re-established with their original

names and foundations.

Those last converted Latin churches in Chios have not survived to the present day. Thus, putting aside the architectural details or history of the building that was converted in Gülnuş Sultan's name, neither its name nor its location have been known to the historical record. Therefore, in order to identify that building, one should focus attention upon those Latin churches known to be located *outside* the castle of Chios shortly before the year 1695, since there were no Catholic churches within the Castro, meaning that those underwent Islamic conversion in 1695 had to be the ones situated outside the castle walls. The written accounts of contemporary travelling clergy, such as the writings of Sebastiani, who visited Chios in 1667, and Venier, Bishop of Tinos, who visited the city in 1679, give the names of the major Catholic Churches as follows: the Cathedral of La Travenna, the Dominican Church of San Sebastiano, the Franciscan Church of San Nicolo, the Jesuit Church of San Antonio and the converted Church of Hagios Georgios.[43]

The Cathedral of Santa Maria di Travena (also known as the Santa Maria de Travis or La Travenna) had been converted into a mosque after the reconquest, but nothing remains from that building, which was once located to the west of the Castro, at the beginning of the Frankomahala district, on the left going up the hill from today's Vounaki Square.[44] Similarly, the San Sebastiano Church, which was located in the Palaiocastro neighbourhood to the north-west and immediately outside the Castro, had stayed in the possession of the Dominicans until 1695, and was then converted into a mosque.[45] The Franciscan Church of San Nicolo and the Jesuit Church of San Antonio shared similar fates, as the walls and the roofs of both buildings were pulled down by the Turks and their land confiscated by the Ottoman State.[46] There were two other Catholic churches, both of which were under the possession of the Order of Capuchin Friars Minor: the Church of San Rocco, located a mile away from Chios town on the Tourloti Mountain, and the Church of Santa Maria dei Disciplinati (or Casaccia) in the Palaiocastro neighbourhood. As the Capuchins were a French order, rather than Venetian or Roman, those two churches stood for a longer period of time years after the Ottomans' recaptured the island; however, after that stay of execution, they were destroyed in a joint attack by the Turks and the Greeks.[47] All this can be found in the archives, and parallel to these accounts of the churches, Tournefort, who had visited the island around 1700, gives the below account regarding those buildings:

> Besides the churches in the country, the Latins had seven in town: the Cathedral is converted into a mosque, as also the

> church of the Dominicans; the church of the Jesuits dedicated to St. Anthony is turned into an inn; those of the Capuchins and Recolets, our Lady of Loretto and that of St. Anne, are pulled down. The Capuchins had also within 500 paces of the town the Church of St. Roch, where they used to bury the French; but it has shared the same fate with the rest.[48]

In the light of this quotation and the archival record, we can deduce that the churches converted into mosques in the names of Mustafa II and Gülnuş Sultan would likely have been the most prominent two Latin Churches of the town, the Cathedral of La Travenna and the Dominican Church of San Sebastiano, a proposition given further credence, because, as we know and as was seen in the case of Kamianets-Podilskyi, the Ottoman custom in conquered cities was to give the biggest church to the Sultan. Nevertheless, it should also be noted that there is some uncertainty regarding the names and locations of other Latin churches, that pass without mention in the record since the majority had either been pulled down or converted into Orthodox churches by the Greeks in revenge attacks against the Latins.[49] Therefore, with the available data, it is not possible to identify the mosque of Mısırlızade İbrahim Pasha, although one can speculate that it was a minor church which went unmentioned in the above sources.[50]

Historical maps and engravings of Chios are of immeasurable help in investigating the location of the San Sebastiano Church, which became the Mosque of the Valide Sultan. An engraving dated to 1687 (Figure 3.4) and a 1694 map of capital (Figure 3.5) clearly give the name and the location of the Dominican Church of San Sebastiano, while the former even offers a rough description of it. A detail from another map drawn in 1694 by the Venetians (Figure 3.6a) gives a more realistic topography of the city, which we can see when we compare it to the present satellite map (Figure 3.6b), and on this map, the two churches can easily be spotted.

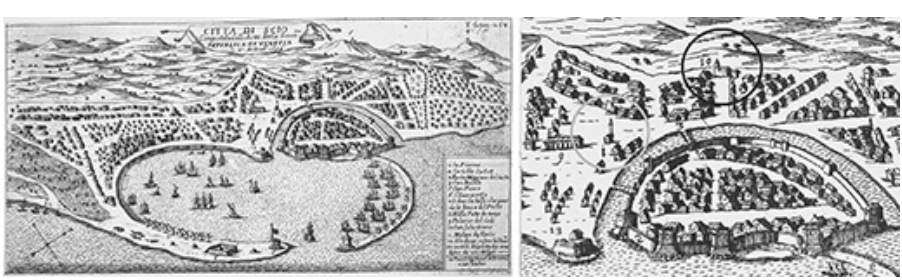


Figure 3.4 Giacomo Rossi's engraving of Chios in *Teatro della guerra contra il Turco* (Rome, 1687) and a detail from the same engraving:

San Sebastiano Church labelled as 10 (circled in black), and possibly Santa Maria di Travena Church, sitting next to the square La Piazza labelled as 1 (circled in grey) (after Costas Koutsikas, *Engravings of Chios, Volume II: Maps-Landscapes* [Athens: Ekdoseis Akritas, 1995] pp. 88–9).

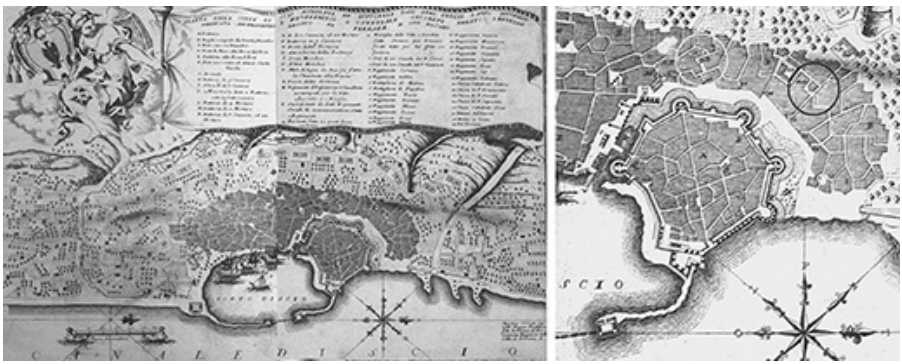


Figure 3.5 Vincenzo Coronelli's Chios map (published in Venice in 1694) and a detail from it: Latin Cathedral labelled as 21 (circled in grey) and Dominican Church labelled as 22 (circled in black) (after Koutsikas, *Engravings of Chios,* pp. 104–5).



Figure 3.6 Left: the Latin Cathedral (circled in white) and the Dominican Church (circled in black) in a detail from anonymous Chios map of 1694, entitled *Dell Aquisto e del ritito de Venetia dell isola di Scio nell ano 1694* (after Koutsikas, *Engravings of Chios,* pp. 136–7); right: approximate locations of the Latin Cathedral (circled in white) and the Dominican Church (circled in black) on today's satellite map of Chios (source: maps.google.com).

In today's Chios, the spot that is thought to have once housed the San Sebastiano Church and the Mosque of Gülnuş Sultan is now mostly a green area within the ruins of a watermill. A modern building sits next to the site, and a road – Skaramagka Street – runs in front of it.[51] This location, seen both on contemporary maps and those from the seventeenth century, is consistent with the description given

in the endowment deed of the mosque, which states that the mosque is adjacent to the main road and surrounded by a garden on one side and houses on the other.[52] It is likely that an archaeological excavation on this site would bring to light invaluable insights about the building which stood here. Without the help of an excavation, the only sources for the architectural features of the building are visual depictions, such as engravings, and written descriptions, such as the accounts of travelling clergy.

Bishop Pietro Demarchis, who visited the island in 1623, relates that San Sebastiano was built before 1580.[53] According to another archival record, the church was built in 1502, and was originally a Greek chapel dedicated to San Tommaso Apostolo, which the Dominicans were using jointly with the Orthodox.[54] Demarchis writes that San Sebastiano Church was 25 *passi*[55] in length and 12 *passi* in width and had five altars.[56]

Another ecclesiastic, Venier, the Bishop of Tinos, paid a visit to the island in 1679 and gives accounts similar to those of his colleagues who had visited Chios previously, writing that there were five major churches in the city and describing them in general terms. The following sentences concern San Sebastiano:

> The church of St. Sebastian of the Dominican fathers is divided into three aisles of modern structure and the vaults of all are made of stone. The central nave, planks of which are painted and gilded with a star–shape pattern, is supported by twelve columns, six on each side. It contains six altars, each one is framed [and flanked] by columns carved and gilded with different patterns.[57]

With the help of the descriptions supplied by these two clergymen, we can say that San Sebastiano was a three-nave basilica, approximately 37m long and 18m wide, and that the main nave was separated from the side aisles by two rows of columns each containing six columns that were aligned towards the apse. The vault of the main nave was decorated like a starry sky, probably alongside portraits of Jesus Christ, Virgin Mary and apostles. The aforementioned altars, five in 1623 but increased to six by 1679, should have been occupying the alcoves in the side aisles, and would have been flanked by ornamented columns.

The engravings, such as the one in Figure 3.4, also depict San Sebastiano as in keeping with these descriptions: a hipped-roofed basilica with a bell tower adjacent to its western façade and two auxiliary buildings to its east and west.[58] An earlier depiction of

Chios, which was published by George Braun and Franz Hohenberg in 1588[59], delineated a hipped-roof basilica within a large courtyard filled with trees and encircled by walls with two gates on either side, a likeness which seems indeed to be San Sebastiano. This building, being the most distinguished structure outside the castle in this engraving, should surely be the Dominican church, newly rebuilt in the early sixteenth century. Other buildings inside the castle walls feature bell towers crowned with crescents, suggesting they had been converted into mosques; however, this suburban church is topped with a cross on its spire. Later versions of this engraving also give very similar depictions of the same building.[60]

Thus, it can be assumed that it was the San Sebastiano Church, with its physical properties as described by the travelling clergy and depicted in abovementioned engravings, that was transformed into Gülnuş Sultan's mosque, with all the necessary alterations. All holy images visible in the church and the bells housed within its tower would have been removed. It would have gained a minaret, either by replacing the cross of the bell tower with a crescent, or with the addition of a partial minaret on top of its already-existing tower.[61] The mihrab, minbar and preacher's lectern would have been installed in the appropriate places within the building and ablution fountains would have been built in the courtyard.

We know from the records that income-generating properties, such as vines, gardens, fields and mills which once belonged to San Sebastiano Church, in addition to adjoining dwellings that were previously used to house its clergy, were transferred to the waqf of Gülnuş Sultan and that the houses and cellars attached to the complex began to be used by the mosque's attendants.[62] Those properties were listed in the waqfiyya, which also specified the wages and job descriptions of mosque employees. In 1697, there were ten primary and six secondary attendants of the mosque, as well as four who were responsible for the pious foundation. These employees were respectively in receipt of 66, 25 and 24 *akçes* daily wage. In 1699, the number of primary attendants increased to 16 and those responsible for the pious foundation increased to six. Their daily wages also saw a rise to 113, 44 and 72 *akçes* respectively, apparently sourced from recently endowed income-generating properties including a customs house, a coffee shop, several houses, gardens, fields and mills and an allotment of church land which probably belonged to one of the destroyed churches.[63]

In order to supply more income for the waqf, in 1699/1700 new buildings were built in the *Aşağı Yalı* neighbourhood, close to the waterside. They comprised a coffee roasting shop, two *şemhane-i asel* –

shops for making beeswax, a *şemhane-i revgan* – a shop for making oil wax, three other shops, three ashlar cellars and a two-storied courtyard house.[64] The construction of these buildings cost 113,168 *akçes*[65] and they supplied a rent of 548 *guruş* per year.[66]

In the following years many buildings in Chios, including the mosque, went through a renovation as they were in need of an extensive repair. Gülnuş Sultan kept a close eye on the state of these buildings, asking her chamberlain Kethüda Mehmed Efendi many questions about the state of reconstruction, such as '[i]s the repair of the mosque in Chios not finished yet?', to which he responded in a letter. After writing that the mosque had seen a brief repair after the conquest, he claimed that he was waiting for the report of his men who were enrolled to make an inspection about the buildings since he was not in favour of relying on the words of Chiotians.[67] The comprehensive repair costing 352,273 *akçes* was finally accomplished with covering the roof of the mosque and its ablution fountain with lead, the latter of which was crowned with a copper finial. To complete the repair, the mosque courtyard was cobbled, and the customs house, coffee shop and cellars as well as other parts of the mosque underwent restoration.[68]

Another construction project was built in Chios in the name of Gülnuş Sultan, but this time on the initiative of her chamberlain. Kethüda Mehmed Efendi had been dealing with repairs to the time-worn waterways that supplied the mosque by bringing water to its fountains and taps. The chamberlain undertook to make large-scale improvements to the system, cleaning and mending the existing pipes. As a result, the water became plentiful and, appreciative of the needs of the inhabitants, he built a fountain in the name of the Valide Sultan near the aqueduct where the repairs had taken place. He relayed to the Queen Mother that the residents of this neighbourhood were extremely grateful for this act of benevolence, so much so that they had composed a pamphlet to put their appreciation for the Valide Sultan into words.[69]

Nevertheless, Gülnuş Sultan's building legacy in Chios came to an ambiguous end in the early nineteenth century. The Chios Massacre of 1822, which largely devastated the people and the buildings of the island, most probably caused the destruction of her mosque, since two-thirds of the city was burnt down and the religious buildings were destroyed by the opponent groups.[70] Although documents[71] issued before 1822 mention the name of Gülnuş Sultan's mosque in Chios, later documents only refer to some properties of her waqf; in particular, two documents[72] from 1822 – just after the massacre – concern the designation of the waqf's estates, those of course that had

survived the destruction. Another document of 1833 mentions several properties, such as the gardens and the coffee roasting shop in Chios, to be the properties of the waqf of Valide Sultan *in Galata*, and omits the name of the mosque in Chios.[73] From this it is understood that Gülnuş Sultan's mosque in Chios had most probably disappeared in 1822, as well as most of the other buildings belonging to her waqf.

In conclusion, in the light of archival documents, we can catalogue Gülnuş Sultan's buildings in Chios as follows: six newly built shops, three cellars, a house and a fountain as well as the mosque which had been converted from the Dominican Church of San Sebastiano. This conversion was the first building activity in her new position of Valide Sultan, which had begun just two weeks before the conquest of Chios. In lending her name to this conversion project, she was representing the Ottoman State, coloured, as her acquisitions were, by the notion that the capture and six-month Venetian occupation of the island ought to be avenged. Although she had gained the possession of this building suddenly and without her intention, she then undertook to improve it with subsequent investments and regulated its wellbeing alongside other income-generating properties she patronized in Chios. Yet, the Massacre of Chios in 1822 brought an abrupt end to their existence.

Oran: A Building in the Most Distant City

In 1708, yet another converted church named after Gülnuş Sultan appeared, this time in the most distant city of the Ottoman Empire: Oran. While she was enjoying her second tenure as queen mother during the reign of her younger son Ahmed III, news from Algeria arrived in the capital, announcing the capture of Oran. The Dey of Algiers, the ruler of Algeria and Tripoli under the Ottoman Empire, had conquered the city, which had been under Spanish dominion for two centuries since 1509. The Dey converted three major churches within the castle walls into mosques, giving them the names of the three most important three Ottoman dignitaries. Of course, Gülnuş Sultan was among these names.

Although the Ottomans had previously tried to capture Oran in the sixteenth century while they were vying for supremacy in the Mediterranean Sea, they could not succeed in doing so. However, in the seventeenth century, Dey Mehmed Bektaş took advantage of Spain's engagement with its European rivals Austria, Britain and the Netherlands and attempted the conquest of Oran. After a siege of several months by land and sea, and with the help of his son-in-law Hasan, the Dey succeeded and captured Oran in early 1708. After the

conquest, conventional procedures similar to those seen in Kamianets-Podilskyi and Chios were put into practice, as contemporary chronicler Silahdar Mehmed Ağa relates:

> The castle of Oran contained three large churches and the interiors of those churches were decorated with sculptures artfully made of colourful marble. All of those were removed and the largest church was converted into a mosque in the name of the sultan. Crescents were put on top of its finials; mihrabs, minbars and galleries were installed in appropriate places. Then, the first Friday prayer was performed by the warriors and blessings were made for the perpetuity of the sultan's power and state. The second church was converted into a mosque in the name of Valide Sultan, the third church in the name of Grand Vizier Ali Pasha, and their waqfs were organized for their maintenance.[74]

After the conquest, the keys of the Castle of Oran were presented to Ahmed III[75] and, in return, he wrote a decree to the Dey of Algiers, bestowing on him and his warriors several gifts and sending a ship loaded ammunition to provide security for the coastal city.[76] However, this decree of Ahmed III dates to Safer 1121/May 1709, almost one year after the conquest, and this implies that the news of the conquest must have arrived to Istanbul late. And it can be deduced that, since the maintenance of the converted mosques were supplied from the newly established waqfs probably with the available local incomes after the conquest, that neither Gülnuş Sultan nor Ahmed III had endowed properties for their brand new mosques, and indeed no endowment deeds for those buildings. In point of fact, they had neither demanded the conversion of those churches nor played a role in the conquest of Oran. It was Dey's own initiative, and any acquisitions were only learnt of long after the fact.

Ottoman dominion in Oran thus started in 1708, but lasted for only 24 years. Unfortunately, almost nothing is known about the identity, architecture and transformation of these three buildings during this relatively short period since there are no surviving Ottoman documents or waqfiyyas which relate to them, and indeed there are no material remnants dating from the first Ottoman occupation.[77] When Oran was recaptured by Spain in 1732[78], those mosques were apparently reconverted into churches, just as had happened in Kamianets-Podilskyi. This is attested to in contemporary maps of Oran, which, after 1732, give the names of the same four pre-1708 churches: Iglesia Mayor, Santa Domingo, San Francisco and La Merced (Figure 3.7).

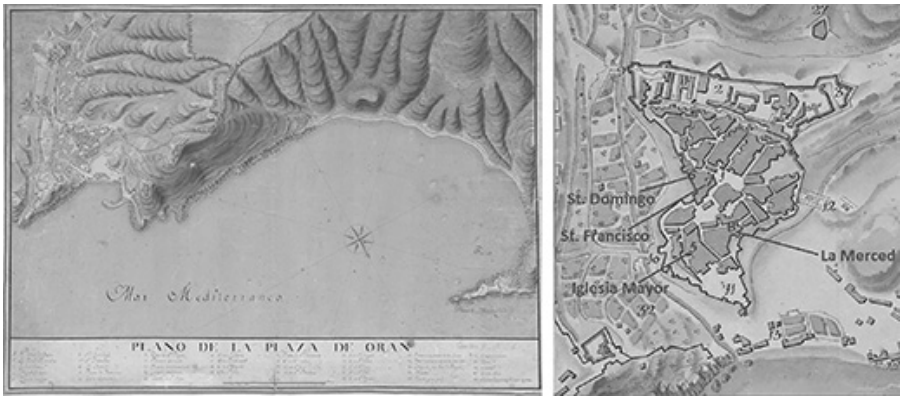


Figure 3.7 An eighteenth-century map of Oran and its environs and detail of the Oran Castle with labelled churches from the same map ('Plano de la plaza de Oran', courtesy of Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico).

It is likely that those buildings most probably did not survive either the devastating earthquake of 1790 or second Ottoman recapture in 1792, which lasted until the French occupation in 1831.[79] The earthquake itself destroyed much of the city and its walls, and the treaty of 1791 between the Dey and the Spanish King stipulated the destruction of public buildings and forts built since 1732.[80] Moreover, there is no mention of these buildings in either the written sources or the material evidence which dates from the second Ottoman occupation.[81] Similarly, maps drawn in the nineteenth century during the French occupation do not include any of them.[82] Rather, after the second Ottoman conquest, the Bey Othmane Mosque was constructed on the site of San Francisco in the late eighteenth century[83]; after French occupation, the St. Louis Church was built on the site of La Merced[84] and the Hopital Boudens was constructed on the site of Iglesia Mayor.[85] All these buildings still exist in today's Oran (Figure 3.8).

Consequently, the only source for discovering the identity and architecture of Gülnuş Sultan's short-lived mosque in Oran are the Spanish sources, which give a glimpse of the history and architecture of those buildings before 1708 and after 1732. Before the capture of Oran in 1708, the written sources mention five major churches within the castle walls: Iglesia Mayor (Nuestra Señora de la Victoria), San Bernardino (which also housed a hospital), Santa Domingo el Real, San Francisco and La Merced.[86] All of them were within the locales of their namesake monasteries. Since 1509, Iglesia Major had been the principal church of the city, as it had been converted from a mosque upon Spanish conquest.[87] Four of these churches were also listed on

the Spanish maps of the eighteenth century[88] (Figure 3.8) except San Bernardino, which might have not survived until the first Ottoman or the second Spanish occupation.

Keeping in mind the established Ottoman custom to convert the cathedral of the conquered city into the mosque of the sultan and remembering the quotation of Silahdar, one can easily deduce that Iglesia Mayor was converted into the mosque of Ahmed III. On the other hand, the documents show that La Merced, which was built on the site of a former synagogue in the seventeenth century, had been in active use as a synagogue between 1708 and 1732.[89] Therefore, the church that was converted into Gülnuş Sultan's mosque could only be either San Francisco or Santa Domingo el Real, which were positioned side by side; that of Grand Vizier Çorlulu Ali Pasha must have been the other one.

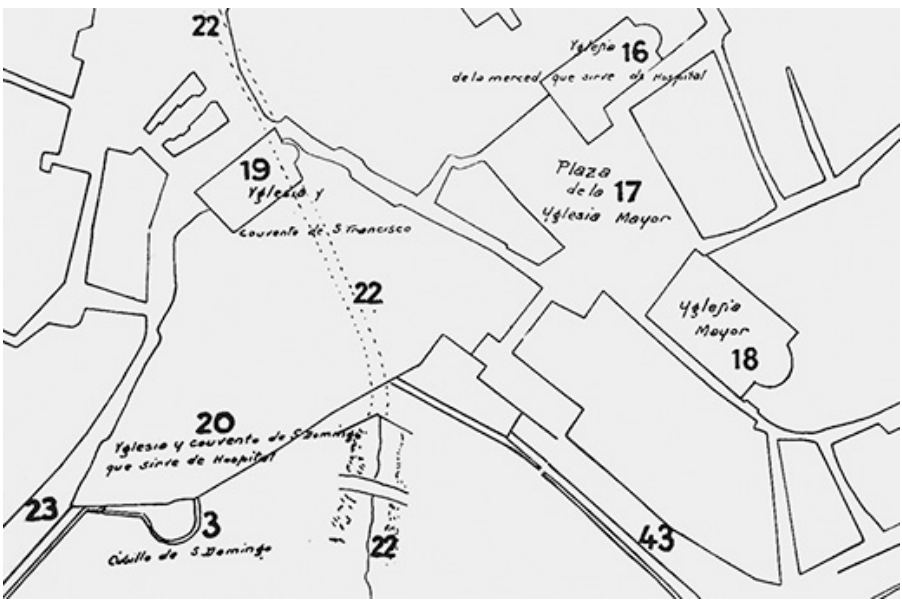


Figure 3.8 Detail from Lespés' map describing Oran in 1732, with four main churches indicated as 16. La Merced, 18. Iglesia Mayor, 19. San Francisco, 20. Santa Domingo (after René Lespés, *Oran: Etude de Géographie et d'Histoire Urbaines* [Paris: F. Alcan, 1938]).

Since we do not have further clues to identify which of these two churches was converted into Gülnuş's mosque, we have to speculate: San Francisco Church, which was in the more central location, within the walls and facing towards the principal square (Figure 3.8), must have been a more prestigious church compared to Santa Domingo, which was adjacent to the city walls. This suggestion is also confirmed by rare plans of these buildings surviving from the first period of

Spanish domination, between 1509 and 1708, which show San Francisco Convent as a larger complex (Figure 3.9) compared to single unit Santa Domingo Chapel.[90] Even though another plan and elevation for the Church of Santa Domingo Convent survives, it was drawn only in 1782, after the Ottomans lost their mosques, and in all likelihood it shows the building after a renovation in the eighteenth century, which gave it a colonial style and baroque features.[91] Therefore, until further records emerge to safely identify the ownership of these churches, we can claim that San Francisco Church could have been converted into the mosque of Gülnuş Valide Sultan, as she was the second highest dignitary then, and that building would best suit her.

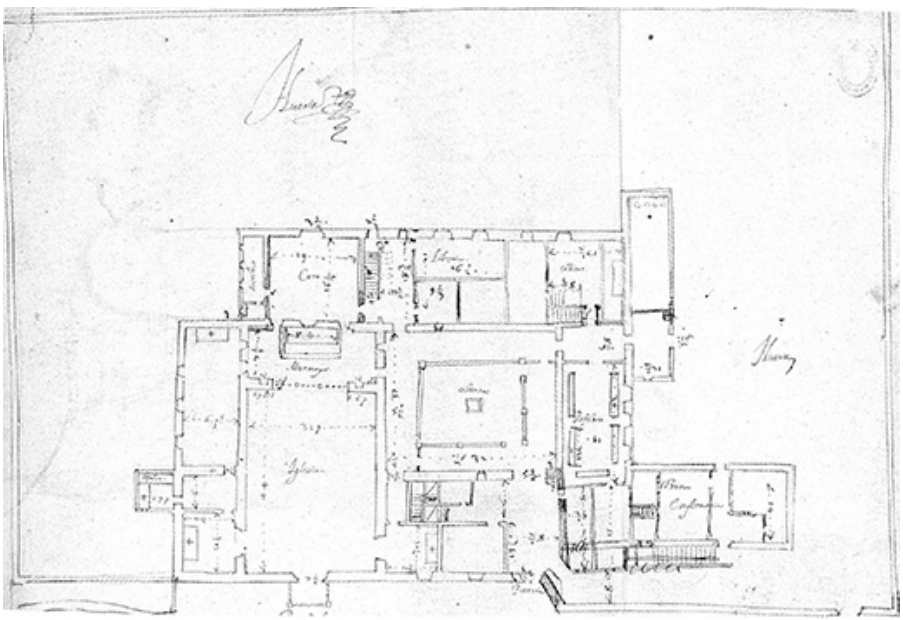


Figure 3.9 Plan of San Francisco Convent in Oran, first half of the sixteenth century (after Mikel de Epalza and Juan Bta Vilar, *Plans et cartes hispaniques de l'Algérie, XVIème – XVIIIème siècles* [Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1988], p. 249).

English cleric and traveller Thomas Shaw, who visited Oran just after it was abandoned by the Ottomans in 1732, makes the following observations about the churches in Oran:

> The Spaniards, when they were first masters of the place, built several beautiful churches, and other edifices, in the manner and style of the Roman architecture, though of less strength and solidity. They have imitated the Romans further, in carving upon the friezes and other convenient places of them, several inscriptions, in large characters and in their

own languages.[92]

Keeping in mind that those churches had been built in the sixteenth century, one can interpret Shaw's phrase 'the style of the Roman architecture' as Renaissance in style, that there must have been inscriptions in Spanish as well as in Latin and that coats of arms adorned the friezes and other parts of the church. It is known that in 1640 the Franciscan convent suffered a considerable fire: part of the property, particularly the sacristy was burned, hence the Cathedral of Toledo made donation to the convent for repair.[93] A later observer, Vicar Alanso Camacho, wrote a letter to the archbishop of Toledo from Oran in 31 March 1773 and related that 'the Convent of San Francisco was the nearest building to the prisons, where there are approximately 300 exiles, who can only go outside if they work for the King and to attend Mass on festive days in the *Parroquia*, as this was the nearest church to them.'[94]

According to the unique plan of San Francisco (Figure 3.9) shown above, the church was a basilica, with the presbytery and the high altar standing at the same height with the building, and the choir (16 x 19 feet) and the sacristy sitting at the northern end of the nave (44 x 31 feet).[95] The large rectangular chapel was built to the left, which was connected to a small annex-chapel for funerals. The convent was to the right of the church. Various parts of the monastery, the dining room, the library, the kitchen, the infirmary, and so on, were arranged around a large courtyard surrounded by porches with a water reservoir at the centre. Both the convent and the church had a direct access to the street and the complex was completed with a walled garden on three sides.[96]

It should be this church, if not Santa Domingo el Real, that became the mosque of Gülnuş Valide Sultan, by acquiring canonical Islamic liturgical elements mentioned above. Some of the property of the convent must have been used by the mosque attendants while others supplied income to the waqf of the mosque, as seen in other conversions. It continued to function up to 1732, until Spaniards returned to Oran and converted it back into a church; thus the building received a fate similar to that of the short-lived Haseki Sultan Mosque in Kamianets-Podilskyi. Unlike the Haseki Sultan Mosque, the Valide Sultan Mosque in Oran was not lucky enough to survive until today, and, like its namesake in Chios, fell victim to the vicissitudes of history.

* * *

All three of those buildings of Gülnuş Sultan were located on the

Ottoman frontiers: One in the northern-most territory of Podolia, the other in the Aegean Sea and the third in the western-most tip of the Ottoman dominions in Africa. And all of those territories had been recently conquered from Catholic rivals, be they the Poles, the Venetians or the Spaniards. All those buildings, again, had been converted from Catholic churches to become mosques of Gülnuş Sultan. They bore her name either as Haseki or Valide Sultan, but in fact, her name was merely a vessel to express the power and reach of the Ottoman states. Thus, in a sense, Gülnuş Sultan was standing in the outposts of Ottoman territories and proclaiming the hegemony of Islam over Catholicism, by means of these appropriations and acquisitions.

After recent military successes on these frontiers, those buildings were both booty and a tool of challenge and menace, along with other converted churches and seized properties. The real war was followed by a cold war, and those buildings played a prominent role in the subsequent ideological warfare against the Catholics, who were either residents of the conquered city or those beyond that frontier, in Catholic lands. In any case, Gülnuş Sultan did not lag behind the male dignitaries of the dynasty: she too played an active role in the various conquests accompanying her husband to the front, as in Kamianets-Podilskyi. The gender difference so ingrained in the administration of the Empire seemed to evaporate where state appropriations and acquisitions were concerned.

On the other hand, Gülnuş Sultan never saw any of those buildings and it was not her decision to convert them into mosques. Instead, in all likelihood, she was told of the conversions at the same time as she was told of the conquests of those cities. It is interesting to think that if Chios had been reconquered two weeks or so earlier while Ahmed II, immediate predecessor of Gülnuş's son Mustafa II, was still alive, one of the churches would acquire the name of another Ottoman dignitary, in the absence of a queen mother. Probably, the commander of the conquering army would have simply renamed those churches and, as in the cases of Chios and Oran, simply chosen the three most important churches and refashioned their purpose in the name first of the Sultan, then the Valide Sultan and then those who could take credit for the military success.[97] Of course, in Kamianets-Podilskyi, the sultan himself was the commander, and he was the one to take possession of the cathedral and distribute another six churches to other dignitaries and even extraordinarily reserved one of them for his wife. Therefore, those buildings were symbolically carrying the name of Gülnuş Sultan, and they had even not have separate waqfs to be sponsored by her, except the one in Chios.[98]

Each of those three buildings shared a similar destiny as none survived long as mosques: the place of worship in Kamianets-Podilskyi and that in Oran were only used as mosques for 27 and 24 years before being converted back to churches upon the loss of those territories. The one in Chios, on the other hand, was demolished during a nationalist uprising followed by a massacre in early nineteenth century, leaving only traces of its former existence behind. Indeed, all three of them had comparatively short lives as mosques due to their vulnerable positions in the frontiers, and shared a similar fate with the Ottoman Empire's conquest policy, which, after a long period of expansionism, came to an abrupt halt and then began to fall back upon itself with the turn of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER 4

STATEMENT OF RELIGIOSITY: MECCA AND THE PILGRIMAGE ROUTE

Gülnuş Sultan's architectural patronage came to be so distinguished because of a certain type of building activity, those of her endowments in Mecca, the holiest city of Islam, and those on the pilgrimage route leading to that city. She commissioned a soup kitchen and a hospital in Mecca in the late 1670s and around 1705, on the Hajj (pilgrimage) route between Hersek and Boyalıca (near İznik), she built pavements and twelve bridges, the largest of which was adorned by a fountain with a prayer platform. Throughout this time she also repaired several of Mecca's Islamic shrines and regularly sent alms for the poor of this city. These choices attest to her religiosity, her devotion to Islam and her determination to apportion parts of her fortune for charitable works.

However, the remoteness of these locations meant that ideological impact of her patronage projects suffered somewhat. Other than the residents of Mecca, her soup kitchen and hospital could only be seen by pilgrims, who were both limited in quantity and coming from a very specific socio-economic strata of society – those wealthy enough to undertake the cost of the Hajj, which was a long journey requiring both means and endurance. The same was true with the bridges and the pavements; travellers and pilgrims coming from Istanbul or the Balkans, saw them, used them and appreciated them, and hence, for this portion of the population, Gülnuş Sultan's reputation was enhanced. However, amongst the wider population of the empire, their impact was necessarily limited. Nevertheless, those in the privileged position of being able to undertake the Hajj must have admired these public works; thus Gülnuş Sultan's reputation as a pious and benevolent sultana, the protector of the holiest city of Islam, undoubtedly grew, particularly in the higher echelons of Ottoman society.

Therefore, in this Chapter I will focus on Gülnuş Sultan's pious works along the pilgrimage route: firstly, the soup kitchen, the hospital and the later addition of a primary school in Mecca, then other complementary waqf buildings in Jeddah, Suez and Bulak in

Egypt, which at that time formed ‘a charity network’ to support those endowments in Mecca, but which have all disappeared in the intervening years. Following on, we will investigate her later public works including the construction and repair of twelve bridges and pavements between Hersek and Boyalıca, about which very little has been known heretofore. Finally, further acts of piety, including repairs to holy buildings in Mecca and regular charitable contributions to the residents of that city, will be examined in order to understand the specific ways in which she presented herself as a pious and religious sultana.

The Hospital and the Soup Kitchen in Mecca and other Buildings in Jeddah and Egypt

When she embarked on building a hospital and a soup kitchen in Mecca, Gülnuş Sultan was in her thirties and the favourite of Mehmed IV, who was enjoying the third decade of his reign in a relatively successful period for the Empire. After the conquest of Crete in 1669, and of Kamianets-Podilskyi in 1672, the Empire felt confident and faced few exterior or interior threats under the grand vizierate of Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha. Gülnuş bore their second son Ahmed in 1673 and Mehmed was probably envisioning a prosperous future to be spent alongside his two heirs and his beloved wife. It was around this time that Gülnuş was presented the income generating villages in Egypt that facilitated the permanence of her pious foundations in Mecca.

Securing the *Haremeyn*, the holiest cities of Islam – Mecca and Medina, was of crucial importance for Ottoman sultans and sultanas, as was sending alms to the poor of those cities and meeting the needs of those pilgrims undertaking the Hajj. The Ottoman sultans had claimed the title of Caliph, leader of the faithful, from the time of Murad I, and since the sixteenth century they had also acted as custodians of the holy sites of the *Haremeyn* in the Hijaz. Taking care of, and being seen to take care of, public facilities in this location was imbued with both personal religious significance and potent political symbolism.[1] Two recent predecessors of Gülnuş Sultan, for instance, Kösem Sultan and Turhan Sultan, had established waqfs for supplying water to pilgrims on the way to Hajj and for Qur'an recitations in those cities.[2] Nevertheless, building in the holy lands of Islam was not common for Ottoman women,[3] and until Gülnuş Sultan's time the only female patron to endow waqf buildings in Mecca, as well as in Medina and Jerusalem, was Hürrem Sultan, the wife of Süleyman the Magnificent.[4]

It took more than a century before another *haseki* as powerful as Hürrem could embark such pious work. Gülnuş Sultan chose Mecca, the ultimate destination of Muslim pilgrims, and built a soup kitchen to feed the poor and a hospital to cure the ill, in or immediately before 1678.[5] However, Gülnuş Sultan's waqf was not only composed of these two buildings in Mecca. Actually, this waqf was in fact 'a network of charity' which was designed to transfer the income of various Egyptian villages of which she was patron to the soup kitchen and hospital in Mecca. Three storehouses in Bulak, Suez and Jeddah were built to store the products collected from those villages, and a ship and two boats were commissioned to carry the grains across the Red Sea, before the cargo was transferred to the horse mill and bakery of the soup kitchen[6] (Appendix 2).

In all likelihood, the 'charity network' functioned as follows: a storehouse at the landing station of Bulak in Cairo was located by the river Nile; it would be used to store the grains brought in from the villages located to the north of Cairo, which contained fertile fields irrigated by the Nile delta. After an overland journey, the grain would be transferred to a storehouse at the port of Suez where it was loaded onto a ship using the two smaller boats. After sailing across the Red Sea, the ship's cargo would be unloaded into the storehouse in the port of Jeddah. Finally, the grain would be transported to the soup kitchen in Mecca by camels, or sold earlier in order to generate income for the waqf.[7]

The employees of the hospital, soup kitchen and storehouse in Jeddah, totalled 28, 55 and 5 people respectively, and their salaries were paid from the income of the waqf. They also received bread cooked in the waqf's bakery as part of their pay. Other waqf employees, 31 in total, were in receipt of yearly rations of wheat on top of their salaries. Other expenses included 30 mattresses, duvets and pillows for the patients of the hospital, a yearly allowance for their medical supplies, as well as other expenses to satisfy the basic staples of the soup kitchen, such as rice, butter, honey, chickpeas, onions and olive oil.[8]

On 14 January 1681 (AH 23 Zilhicce 1091), just a few years after construction of the hospital and the soup kitchen in Mecca had been completed, the city was hit by a disastrous flood killing many people and destroying around 150 houses.[9] The buildings of Gülnuş Sultan were damaged in the flood: their domes were cracked, the kitchen and the mill were ruined and most parts of the hospital were damaged. After the disaster, a reconnaissance survey for damage assessment was conducted at the request of the waqf's custodian, Zülfikar Bey; the Cadi – the magistrate – of Mecca, Ahmed Pasha, the custodian of the

hospital Musa Ağa, others with knowledge in the construction field and Mehmed Ağa, who had been sent from the capital, responded. According to their report written on 7 December 1683 (AH 17 Zilhicce 1094), given the extent of the damage, they had reached the consensus that a rebuilding was needed, rather than a repair. They estimated that the rooms of the hospital, the roofing of the portico and their columns could be rebuilt for 4000 *şerifi* gold coins, whereas the kitchen and the mill required an investment of 6000 *şerifi* gold coins for the rebuild. Seeing the reconstruction as an opportunity for expansion, they also proposed the construction of a series of shops with a second storey of rooms to be built in front of the hospital, parallel to the main road. The cost of this development was projected to come to 10,000 *şerifi* gold coins.[10]

Musa Ağa, the custodian of the hospital in Mecca, sent another letter dated to 23 March 1684 (AH 6 Rabiulahir 1095) detailing the required reparations and rebuilding. The locations of the previous mill and the kitchen were to be swapped, a new door was to be built on the side wall looking towards the house of *Hazreti Fatima*, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammed. Some of the walls were in need of rebuilding since the damage to the dome, to the walls of the kitchen and to the walls of the mill was too extensive to be patched up or repaired. This was to cost 6000 gold coins. Similarly, the circular domes in front of individual hospital cells (rooms) were also ruined and could not be repaired. The previous stone columns had been light with no solid foundations underneath. Therefore, it was decided they should be replaced by six-cornered stone columns built upon a foundation 7–8 *zira*[11] deep. That was projected to cost 4000 gold coins. Shops would be built on three sides for a total of 10,000 gold coins with houses built on the second storey of these shops overlooking three separate vistas costing a further 10,000 gold coins. Due to some local reconstruction in the interim, the budget and placement of the proposed shops had also changed from those mentioned initially in the reconnaissance survey.[12]

In the meantime, Gülnuş Sultan's waqf based in Mecca was in need of larger storage facilities in Jeddah, where the grains brought in from the villages in Egypt were stored. It is probable that the construction of a larger set of lodgings to service the storehouse in Jeddah was ordered before the flood hit Mecca in 1681. We know that this khan was built between early 1682 and late 1683 (AH 1093 and 1094) by Kenan Ağa, the deputy custodian of Gülnuş Sultan's waqf, as a building register gives the details of its expenditures for these two years costing a total of 13,004 *şerifi* gold coins.[13] The new khan contained a primary school for 28 pupils and 2 teachers, and included

eight storage rooms and five houses. Those houses, along with four of the storage rooms, would be rented out in order to supply revenue.[14]

At the same time as the khan was being built in Jeddah, upon the wish of Gülnuş Sultan, a building to facilitate Qur'an recitations and provide a space for pupils to study the Qur'an was built on top of the fountain of the hospital in Mecca. The building register of AH 1094 (around 1683), composed by Kenan Ağa and Musa Ağa, the hospital's custodian, details that the construction of these additions cost a total of 1735 *şerifi* gold coins.[15] This building was designed to contain 30 Qur'an reciters, who according to the postscript added to the waqfiyya, would meet there after morning prayer to read a *cüz* (one thirtieth of Qur'an) each.[16] The above-mentioned reconnaissance survey contained information about all the projected costs of these extra construction projects.

Accordingly, the waqf buildings of Gülnuş Sultan in the Holy Lands increased dramatically. Upon receiving the details of the reconnaissance survey and the building registers of those new edifices, *mirahur-ı evvel* Süleyman Ağa, the official with responsibility for construction works, sent a letter to Gülnuş Sultan informing her about the situation. Mehmed Ağa, the reconnaissance emissary, had checked the new constructions in Jeddah and Mecca, and confirmed their building costs as 14,739 *şerifi* gold coins in total, which was paid by Zülfikar Bey from the income of the waqf villages. He also reported the estimated cost of the rebuilding as 10,000 *şerifi* gold coins in total, with an additional 10,000 if the building of new shops were desired. Then, Süleyman Ağa proposed to employ Osman Çelebi in Mecca as the construction overseer for the rebuilding, in order to mitigate the unnecessary cost of sending someone from the capital. Indeed, he had already informed Osman Çelebi to prepare the lime and stone for the construction, and he was assured that Osman would buy it at an acceptable price as he was a reliable man.[17]

This repair was carried out between 1684 and 1686 (AH 1095 and 1097) and was overseen by Osman Çelebi. According to a building register he composed between 21 August 1684 and 16 November 1686 (AH 10 Ramazan 1095 and 29 Zilhicce 1097), a total of 5908 *şerifi* gold coins and 26 *pare-i Mekkî* were used to purchase building materials – quicklime and slaked lime, stone and wood – transportation of those items by donkeys, and workers' wages in the repair and rebuilding of the soup kitchen and hospital.[18] Lime and stone were the main construction items, which were probably prepared beforehand upon the order of Süleyman Ağa. It seems that the proposed shops topped with houses were not built, as they are not mentioned in this register.

It is interesting to note that the repairs and rebuilding of Gülnuş Sultan's buildings in Mecca took quite a long time: after the flood damage of 1681, the work could only start in 1684, achieving completion in 1686. As the abovementioned documents also suggest, the remoteness of the buildings and the length of the time it took to send the orders to the waqf custodians from the capital must have extended the process. Mehmed Ağa must have had to first conduct the reconnaissance survey, then take the letters of the waqf custodians, Zülfikâr Bey, Musa Ağa and Kenan Ağa to the capital, from whence details were conveyed to Gülnuş Sultan by favour of Süleyman Ağa, with the addition of his own suggestions about the assignment of responsibilities in the reconstruction. Then, letters must have been sent back to the waqf custodians for them to action the required work, and once the work was finished the building registers, giving every expense detail, must have been presented to Gülnuş Sultan. Nevertheless, the hospital and the soup kitchen in Mecca continued to function in the meantime, feeding the poor and caring for the patients, as Musa Ağa states in his abovementioned letter.[19]

Despite these repairs, natural malfunctions and disruptions within this ‘charity network’ spanning from Cairo to Mecca continued in the following years. For instance, a ship carrying the Egyptian grain across the Red Sea sunk in the early 1690s, and its cargo was transferred with a fee, paid from the income of the waqf.[20] The ship was either repaired or periodically replaced in the following years, paid for by the surplus income of the waqf, as in those years for which the account books have survived the incomes of the waqf were always greater than their expenses.[21]

During this period, the storehouse on the shore of the Nile at the Bulak landing station also suffered damage because of the high waters of the river. Although a barrier had been built to save the storehouse from probable floods, the barrier had collapsed and the wall of the storehouse was damaged during or before 1697 (AH 1108). A reconnaissance survey was carried out and the building of a new barrier wall during the Nile's low tide was proposed.[22] A new masonry barrier and wall was built after digging a foundation of 3–4 *ziras* deep; further, rooms for storehouse attendants and waqf custodians were rebuilt, and a kitchen and a cellar were added during the construction that took place between April 1697 and February 1698.[23]

Similar natural disasters or the gradual deterioration of the buildings over time seemingly brought the lives of the waqf buildings of Gülnuş Sultan in Mecca, Jeddah, Sues and Bulak to an end. None of these buildings survive in today's Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The latest archival document that mentions Gülnuş Sultan's waqf buildings in

Mecca (detailing yet another repair) is dated to 11 June 1849.[24] However, no further clues as to their disappearances can be found in the available visual or written archives.

However, piecing together the absences of Gülnuş Sultan's buildings offers us a snapshot of the timeline of their decline. One of the rare travelogues on Mecca written in 1814–15 by John Lewis Burckhardt, which depicts the city with its quarters and prominent buildings, fails to mention Gülnuş's Sultan's hospital and soup kitchen.[25] Similarly, neither El-Mekkî's monograph, dating from 1900 listing the Ottoman architectural heritage in Mecca, nor Sadri Pasha's similar work composed between 1884 and 1887 include any of Gülnuş Sultan's buildings in Mecca.[26] Nor do the nineteenth-century or early twentieth-century maps of Mecca show any of them.[27] Therefore, in all likelihood, they must have disappeared sometime around the second half of the nineteenth century, leaving us with very few clues about their architecture or their whereabouts. Nevertheless, the pieces of information hidden in the letters, registers and surveys presented above could serve to understand some details about the architecture and location of the waqf buildings in Mecca, Jeddah and other places.

The Location and Architecture of the Buildings

The location of the hospital and the soup kitchen in Mecca is so far unclear, and today's Mecca, which has completely lost its old street patterns, as well as its Ottoman architectural heritage, gives no clue as to the whereabouts and remains of those buildings. Nevertheless, the documentary evidence provides us with some clues. The fact that the buildings were heavily ruined by the flood, that a door for the kitchen was built on one side that looked towards the house of *Hazreti Hatice*, and that there was a proposal to build shops on three sides of the waqf buildings or a row of shops in front of the hospital and parallel to the main road all hints toward the hypothesis that those buildings might have been located to the north of the Kaaba. Indeed, we can narrow this location down still further to that shown in Figure 4.1, which places the hospital as located to the east and the soup kitchen to the west as this is a spot which is opposite the house of *Hazreti Hatice*, on a flood-water course, and surrounded by three streets.

Although one cannot know the exact layout of the buildings in Mecca, it can be safely said that the kitchen was domed while the adjacent mill was not; the hospital cells/rooms were domed and positioned around a courtyard, and there were domed porticos supported with stone columns in front of them. All of the buildings were made of stone and lime, and in the courtyard of the hospital

there was a fountain, possibly with a water tank, and a room for Qur'an recitation, which was also used as a primary school, was added above the fountain some time later, possibly supported by a ring of columns or pillars.

By contrast, the architecture of the newly built khan in Jeddah can be mentally reconstructed much more clearly thanks to a letter sent by Receb, the clerk of the hospital in Mecca, which gives many details about the extent of buildings, including the storage rooms, the shops, the houses and the primary school. The khan was located on the shore of the Red Sea, at the old port of Jeddah, which has been totally reshaped by today's city after the new port's encroachment into the sea. Gülnuş's lodgings were made up of a rectangular building, which had outer dimensions of 42 x 63 *zira* (approximately 28 x 42 m) with an inner courtyard, consisting of eight storage rooms, all made of cut-stone, which was entered through arched doors and covered with vaults (Figure 4.2). The thickness of the walls of the khan was 1.5 *zira* while the foundations of it reached 4 *zira* into the soil and 4 *zira* above the soil. The storage rooms were different sizes, but all were 6 *zira* high, and their combined capacity added up to 4750 *erdebs*.[28] Two gates of the khan, which had large vestibules with flanking niches, opened in opposite directions, one on the east in the direction of the kiblah marking the direction of prayer and one on the west which looked towards the sea. A portico circled the courtyard of the khan on three sides, which was composed of 11 stone columns connected to each other with stone arches and covered with a wooden roof to provide shade in front of the storage rooms so that the outdoor space could act as an overflow area should extra storage space for the cargo be needed. There was also a row of three shops on each side of the western gate, all of which had seating areas on their upper storeys.[29]

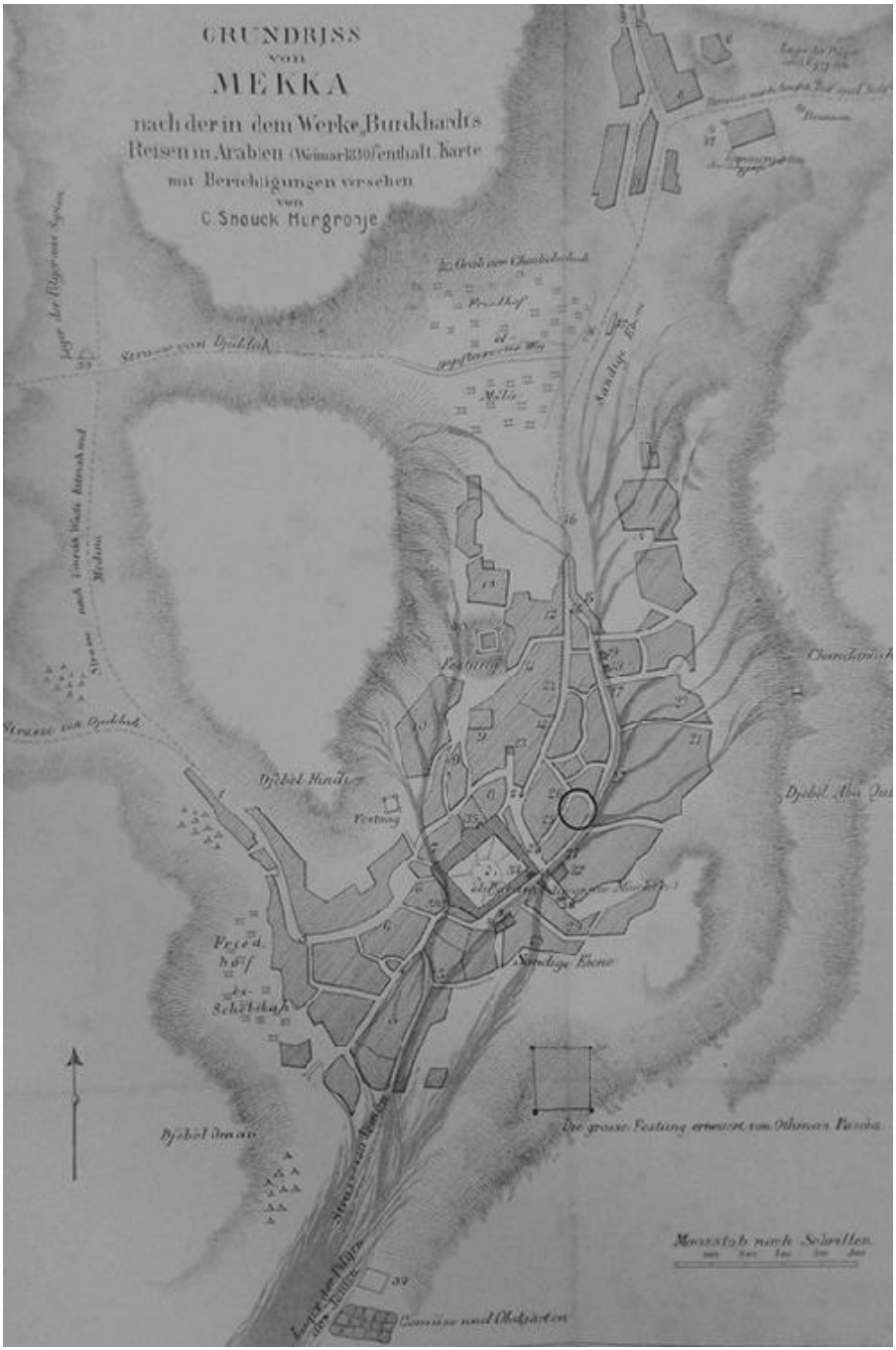


Figure 4.1 Possible location of the hospital and the soup kitchen of Gülnuş Sultan in Mecca. Dark grey lines indicate the path of the flood water. The building to the left of the circle labelled 26 is the house of Hazreti Hatice. In all likelihood, the hospital with the Qur'an recitation school was located to the east looking onto the main road,

with the soup kitchen including the mill and the bakery located to the west, opposite the house of Hazreti Hatice (after Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka. Bilder-Atlas* [Haag: 1888–9]).

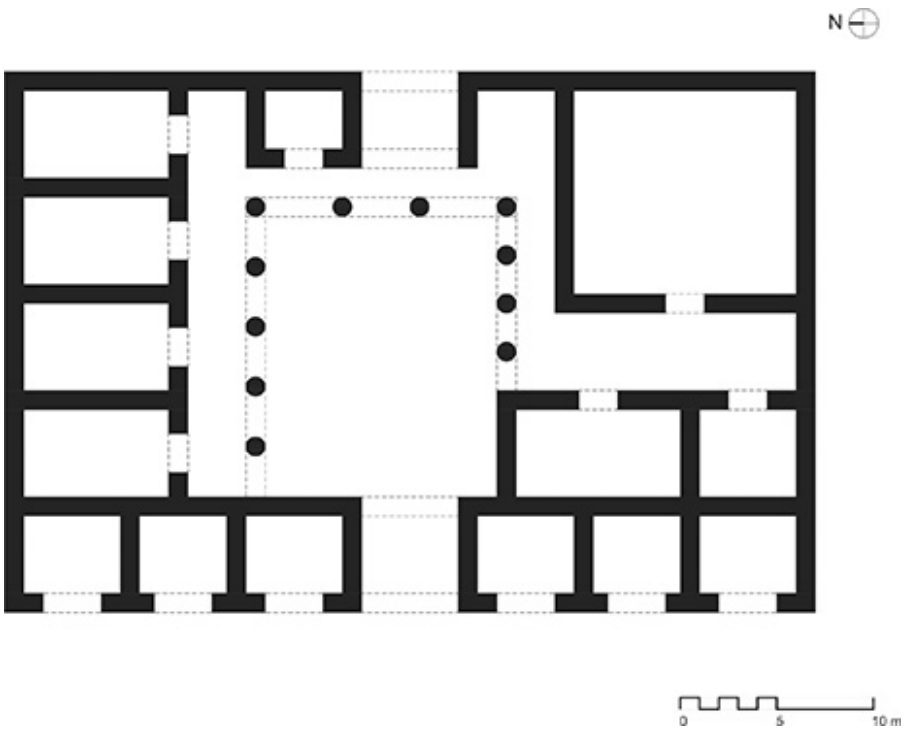


Figure 4.2 Partly hypothetical floor plan of the khan in Jeddah. Five houses and a primary school were located on the upper floor of the khan, around the courtyard (drawn by Erkan Torun).

Above the storage rooms themselves, the letter tells us, were five houses and a primary school, all located around the inner courtyard and on the corners of the khan, all having different sizes and different facilities. The letter contains dimensions and detailed descriptions of the houses. All of the houses, Receb writes, were comprised of an anteroom with an oriel window, several other rooms including a kitchen, a cellar, a vestibule, storage rooms, a roof terrace which was reached via a staircase and other facilities depending on their size. Four of them consisted of an inner and an outer part and were reached by climbing a staircase entered through a stone arched door from the street, whereas the smaller house above the western gate of the khan was reached via a door in the courtyard. The primary school which occupied the southwest corner of the khan was reached via the staircase entered via a door from the street; the school building itself featured four arches, two on the west and two on the east, possibly on its façades.[30]

All in all, it is only possible to partially reconstruct some of the architectural features of Gülnuş Sultan's expansive 'charity network' with the help of archival documents. However, these documents do provide us with a clear picture of the large infrastructure of altruism of which these buildings formed a part, and enable us to appreciate the positive publicity such a network signified for the Ottomans, whereby they could be seen to be feeding the poor, healing the sick and teaching the children of Mecca and Jeddah. Moreover, the details they do give illustrate the significant functional capacities of this network: how a storehouse built at the landing station of Bulak in Cairo served as the first link in a chain of construction projects that encompassed another storehouse in Suez, a purpose-built khan replete with storage, housing, income-generating shops and primary school at the port of Jeddah and ending finally with the most ideologically important building work – Gülnuş Sultan's hospital and soup kitchen in the heart of Mecca itself. It was this vast system, dependent on the income of her villages in Egypt, which established her reputation as a religious and pious *Haseki* Sultan, who generously poured money and provisions into the holy lands of Islam, which helped to raise her standing to that of Hürrem Sultan, the all-time outstanding favourite of the Ottoman harem.

Gülnuş also took it upon herself to take care of other prominent Islamic shrines in Mecca. After she became the Queen Mother, she sponsored the renewal of the curtains to the door of the Kaaba and nearby Station of Prophet Abraham (*Makam-ı İbrahim*), in 1699 (AH 1111).[31] She also financed the refurbishment of the precious textiles of the Kaaba's minbar: the white-trimmed black curtain of the minbar door, the red carpeting of the minbar staircase and four sacred silk standards (*sancak-ı şerif*) adorning the four corners of the minbar.[32] In addition, the roof of the Kaaba, the stairs inside it and the nearby semi-circular wall *Hicr-i İsmail*[33], were repaired by Gülnuş, as was the house of *Hazreti Hatice*.[34] The cleaner of the Meezab, the golden spout which drains rainwater from the roof of the Kaaba, was also being financed from her waqf.[35] Finally, her architectural patronage in the holy lands of Islam was complemented by regular donations from the income of her waqfs, which she sent to the Holy Lands as part of her contribution to the *Surre-i Hümayun*, a procession which took money and gifts from Istanbul and, via Damascus, travelled to Mecca and Medina and distributed the charity among the poor, a tradition that continued throughout the long duration of the Ottoman Empire.[36] However, another architectural enterprise would trumpet both her name and her benevolence to pious Muslims of means who were merely starting out on their pilgrimages to the Holy Lands.

Bridges and Pavements on the Pilgrimage Road

In order to fulfil one of the five pillars of Islam, the *Hajj*, rich, healthy and bold Muslims from the north and the west of the Empire were regularly setting off south-east on a journey to the Holy Lands of Islam. Oftentimes an eight-month round-trip from Istanbul, this journey could be a difficult, challenging and sometimes fatal endeavour in Ottoman times. This was particularly true at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when a disaster occurred in which 30,000 pilgrims were killed in Bedouin attacks along the Damascus–Mecca pilgrimage route. After this, the Hajj was considered to be a much more fearsome undertaking and the Ottoman government was keen to secure the route, including the reorganizing the routes and revitalizing the administration of the cities on it, such as Damascus.[37]

In reality, facilitating this journey was almost an obligation for the Ottoman state. At the beginning of this long route, once the İzmit Gulf was crossed and pilgrims had landed on Hersek, a nine-hour long (33 km) serpentine road followed, taking the course of streams through several valleys until one reached Boyalıca, a town on the shore of the İznik Lake. The pilgrims would then travel on to İznik (ancient Nicaea) itself. This passage was a common route to inland Anatolia and all the eastern destinations, and several bridges built to cross the streams and rivers had dotted the route since Roman times.[38] However, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, most of these bridges and indeed the pavement of the road had long been neglected and were in need of significant repair (Figure 4.3).

Gülnuş Sultan undertook to finance the repairs to the neglected byway, and new bridges along the route, including a large one accompanied by a fountain with a prayer platform, were built between 1704 and 1706 by this unique Ottoman woman, just as she was enjoying her second tenure as queen mother. These repairs made her name famous among grateful pilgrims merchants and passersby, who had previously suffered to traverse this road, especially in rainy and snowy weather when it had once been swampy and impossible to pass. Gülnuş decided to fund this costly building enterprise from her own money and the waqf of Galata Mosque, and we can well imagine the political effect of such a project on Ottoman subjects, sending out a clear impression as it does of a sultanate keen to ease the trials of pious pilgrims. Of course, by this great show of magnanimity and benevolence, Gülnuş Sultan's building projects simultaneously helped to reinforce her son's legitimacy and power.



Figure 4.3 Yalakabad Bridge from southwest, with wing walls on the foreground and the corbel, which possibly once carried the inscription panel, projecting above the keystone of the grandest arch. The nonextant fountain with prayer platform would have stood at this end of the bridge, from where the photograph is taken (author's photograph, 2013).

We know that the repair and the construction works on this path began sometime around 1704, as in the same year Gülnuş Sultan added a postscript to the waqfiyya of Galata Mosque mentioning 'paving the path from Hersek town in Dil region, through Derbend, until Boyalıca by İznik Lake, and building six ashlar masonry bridges on the rivers'.[39] This postscript was dated to AH 1 Ramazan 1116 (28 December 1704), well before the construction of the largest bridge on Yalakabad River was completed in 1706, and stipulated that the future repairs to the pavement and bridges on this path should come from the income of the same waqf. This early postscript does not foresee the entire building enterprise, which ultimately consisted of building or repairing 12 bridges of various sizes and the construction of a fountain with a prayer platform adjacent to the impressive three-arched Yalakabad Bridge, or *Valideköprü*, as it is known today.

The construction of six arched bridges, six smaller bridges and the repair of the pavements on this 33 km trail were realized by İbrahim Ağa, who was either the architect or construction overseer of the project, and cost 1,796,901 *para* (44,922.5 *guruş*); two-thirds of that sum (1,234,671 *para*) was consumed by repairs to the pavements

only.[40] The three-arched ashlar bridge and the fountain with a prayer platform adjacent to it were constructed between 13 August 1705 (AH 22 Rebiyülahir 1118) and 24 September 1706 (AH 15 Cemaziyülahir 1118), at a cost of 12,251 *guruş*.[41] This amount was approximately one-fourth of the whole budget, and 3000 *guruş* of it was paid from the waqf of the Galata Mosque while the remaining 9251 *guruş* was directly paid by Gülnuş Sultan, as attested to in a note thought to be written by her[42] (Plate 3).

The largest bridge crossing Yalak River was the last piece of building to be completed, as Kethüda Mehmed Efendi informed Gülnuş Sultan in a letter about the process of the construction: 'The pious endowments of her highness in the Dil region consisting of stone bridges and pavements have been completed, with only the biggest bridge still under construction. Once it is finished, water will be brought and a fountain will be constructed by its side. This bridge's length and height is greater than Saraçhane Bridge in Edirne.'[43] Although it is a 63.8 m long, 4.8 m wide, the three-arched bridge, with its largest arch having a span of 12.35 m, it was certainly smaller than the ten-arched Saraçhane Bridge, a familiar bridge for Gülnuş Sultan from her time in Edirne.[44] Thus, it seems that Kethüda Mehmed Efendi was exaggerating the extent of Gülnuş Sultan's charity and the work he was responsible for, perhaps to legitimize delays or high expenditures. In a later letter, he announced to her that the bridge was completed and presented the inscription text for her approval, prior to its inscription on marble and shipment to the spot in order to be mounted ceremoniously upon the bridge.[45] The inscription panel has not survived; however, we can assume that the corbel projecting above the grand arch and beyond refurbished parapets was probably its home, where it could be seen and remind passersby of the efficacious generosity of Gülnuş Sultan (Figure 4.3).

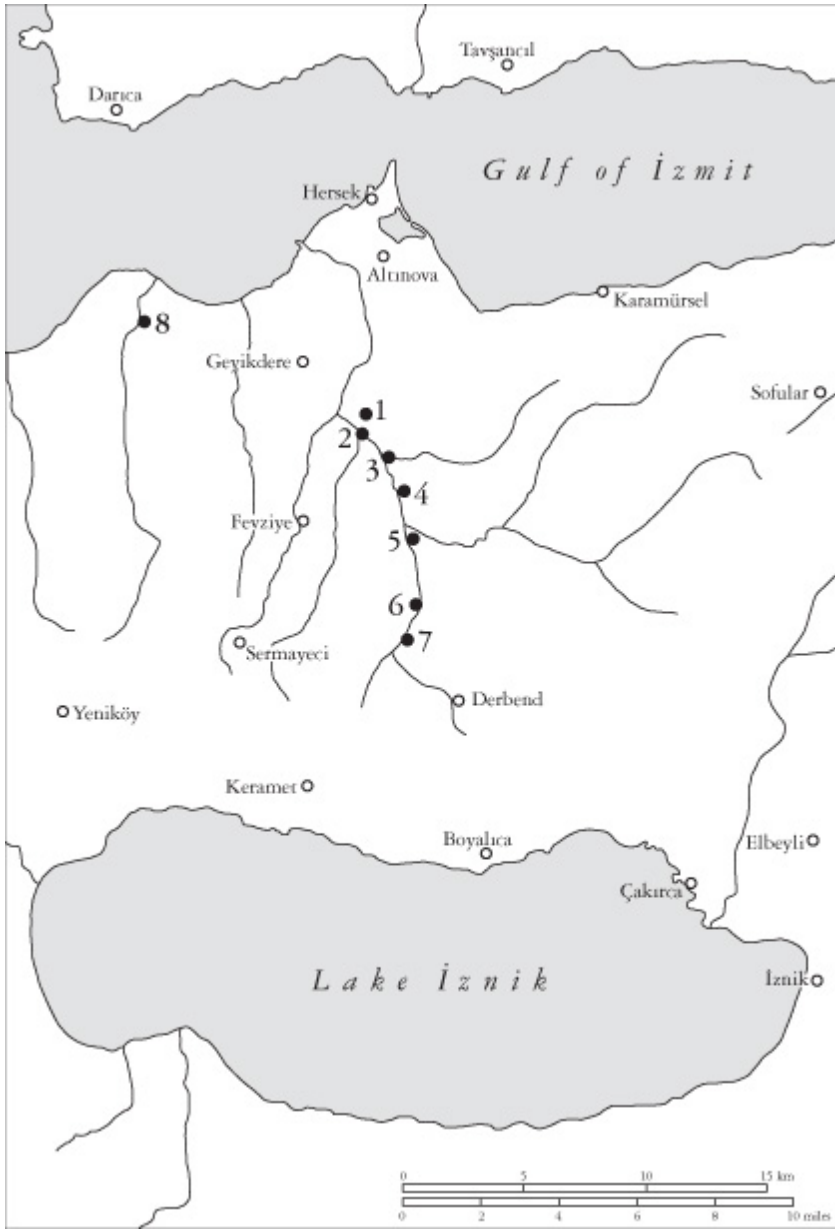


Figure 4.4 The location of the bridges built or repaired by Gülnuş Sultan between Hersek and Derbend between İzmit Gulf and İznik Lake. 5: Yalakabad Bridge, 8: Taşköprü (both are extant); 1, 2, 4 and 7: completely disappeared bridges or those replaced by modern bridges; 3 and 6: spotted remnants of bridges.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to identify all of those 12 bridges today, since some of them have disappeared. However, in addition to the recently restored Yalakabad Bridge (*Valideköprü*) in Kocaeli

Province, seven other bridges or ruins of bridges from this building period can be spotted in the region. Some of her orginal bridges have since been replaced by modern bridges. For instance, the ruins of a former stone bridge lie beside the river at the location shown by number 3 in Figure 4.4, while a concrete bridge has replaced a former single-arched bridge at the place indicated by number 6 in Figure 4.4 (see Figure 4.5). Yet another surviving bridge (number 8 on Figure 4.4) known as Taşköprü lies slightly off the described path, but it might well be one of the bridges built or repaired by Gülnuş Sultan, if a document mentioning 'a bridge recently constructed in Dil region […]' and its similarity of architectural style are taken into account[46] (Figure 4.6).



Figure 4.5 Remnants of a bridge lying beside Yalak River (on the left, number 3 on Figure 4.4) and a single-arched bridge replaced by a concrete bridge (on the right, number 6 on Figure 4.4) (author's photograph, 2013).



Figure 4.6 Taşköprü lies slightly out of the abovementioned path between Hersek and Boyalıca (number 8 on Figure 4.4), but it might well be one of the bridges constructed by Gülnuş Sultan (author's photograph, 2013).

Unluckily, the fountain with prayer platform constructed adjacent to the Yalakabad Bridge did not survive. In all likelihood, the fountain would have been located on the south-west side of the bridge with similar features to those of the fountain with prayer platform built in Edirne (see Chapter 6). After the travellers crossed this bridge on their way to Mecca, they would have used this fountain to drink water and perform their ablutions before completing their prayers on the adjacent platform. The addition of this fountain must have been a later wish of Gülnuş Sultan, as it was not mentioned in the aforesaid postscript to the waqfiyya which was composed in advance. Likewise, no remnants of the pavement that connected Hersek and Boyalıca survive; it probably lies long-buried under today's road which still uses the same route.

All in all, Gülnuş Sultan's building enterprise on a section of pilgrimage road from Istanbul to Mecca was a bold and generous pious effort, vastly improving the experience of all who took this road. In making these improvements she had spent more than the cost of building a mosque, but in return, she gained an invaluable reputation among the users of this road. Although she never completed the Hajj herself and never made it to Mecca, her construction works established her as a pious and compassionate Muslim, and the mother of faithful and benevolent Ottoman emperors. In Mecca, her charity network preceded her; on the pilgrimage road, her improvements brought her many grateful prayers. This special dimension to her religious patronage elevated her in the eyes of her subjects and her rivals, and added a crucial dimension to the exercise of soft power that emanated from the centre of the Ottoman court.

CHAPTER 5

GALATA NEW MOSQUE: ISLAMIZATION OF THE CATHOLIC LAND

If you are looking for the most interesting and the most extraordinary building of Gülnuş Sultan, you must first visit a certain hardware market in Istanbul. You may easily stumble across this market as you stroll through the streets near Perşembepazarı in Beyoğlu, inside the now-demolished walls of Galata, close to the shores of Golden Horn and behind the famous nineteenth-century Ottoman Bank building. Once you find it, you might well ask yourself what on earth this building could possibly have to do with Gülnuş Sultan. Yet, two ornate fountains attached to the outer walls of this market whisper that an altogether less prosaic building once stood here, and hint at invaluable discoveries if you are willing to delve deeper into the history of this spot. And if you *do* decide to delve you will learn that this spot has been the site of *two* historic buildings, one overlaying the other. Today, these fountains are the sole witnesses of Gülnuş Sultan's long-forgotten Galata New Mosque, which had, in its turn, replaced another religious building – the major Catholic shrine of old city. Over these majestic ruins stands the hardware market, a testimony to the imperial city of Istanbul – a palimpsest thousands of years in the making.

The first building known to stand here, the San Francesco Monastery, was initially built in the thirteenth century, and then rebuilt several times until its final demise in a fire in 1696. When Mehmed the Conqueror converted the San Paolo and San Domenico Church into the Arap Mosque, this gem of a Franciscan monastery, the beautifully ornamented San Francesco Church, began functioning as the main Catholic Church of Istanbul. It was to play this role for more than two centuries. After a fire ripped through Galata, destroying the church, Gülnuş Sultan, then in the second year as queen mother, ordered the construction of a mosque on that spot. Galata New Mosque, or Saint-François Mosque, as nostalgic and displaced Francs used to call it, welcomed its first Muslim congregation in 1698. Ironically, Gülnuş Sultan's mosque, the only imperial mosque to be built in Galata, was later abandoned to its fate and allowed to gradually decay, being finally demolished in the twentieth century.

Today, having disappeared and leaving only a few clues behind, these buildings have been almost completely forgotten, not only by the ordinary people of Galata but by most of the academy as well.

Since the fire, this spot has acted as a battleground for the preoccupations of the day. Gülnuş Sultan's decision to replace the most important Catholic church in the city with an imperial mosque was a knowingly socio-political act: the Galata New Mosque was intentionally built on the monastery grounds as a means of reshaping the religious and demographic character of the area. Its construction coincided with the turbulent years following the Battle of Vienna, and the site of the development was likely seen, and intended to be seen, to have been chosen in order to settle scores after significant Ottoman defeats on the battlefield. The decision to replace Catholic church with Islamic mosque was most probably made solely by Gülnuş Sultan herself when her son Sultan Mustafa II was away from the capital on one such campaign against the Holy League. In other words, this decision to replace one religious community's place of worship with another's owed much to the political climate of the period. Not only that, but the economic and social constraints of the day also affected the architecture of the building, which was extraordinarily modest for an imperial mosque. Also striking is the fact that this prominent building became, in a sense, a victim of Turkey's early twentieth-century secularization, as the road leading to its demolishment was paved by the decisions of the ruling elite of the new Republic of Turkey in the first half of the twentieth century.

Therefore, in this chapter, the history and architecture of one of the most important buildings of Gülnuş Sultan will be rediscovered with the help of the extant and invaluable archival documents. These documents include the reconnaissance survey, the building register of the mosque and rare photographs from glass negatives. Using this primary material, a partial reconstruction of the Galata New Mosque will be offered. But before we can embark on this, we should gain an understanding about the Latin and Roman Catholic presence in Galata, the history of the San Francesco Church itself and the circumstances that yielded the Islamization of this Catholic space.

Galata Latins and the San Francesco Church

Galata had served as one of the earliest neighbourhoods of Byzantine Constantinople[1], but it gained in prominence during the Latin Occupation between 1204 and 1261. During this time, the area saw the construction of both San Paolo and San Domenico Church and San Francesco Church. After having been granted concessions from the

Byzantines, from the twelfth century onwards the Genoese started to settle in Galata, and thanks to their political and commercial privileges, they flourished in the area following the Latin Occupation. They constructed the Galata walls, extended existing churches, such as their addition of the Santa Anna Chapel to the San Francesco Monastery, and constructed new churches, among which were San Antonio and San Benedetto.[2]

The Genoese remained neutral during the siege of Constantinople and, in 1453, handed the keys of Galata to the Ottoman conqueror, Mehmed II. By signing a treaty on 1 June 1453, they obtained trade liberalization, agreeing to trade as Ottoman subjects, and managed to save their churches.[3] Nevertheless, over time, those churches began to either change hands or be replaced by other buildings. First of all, in the last years of Mehmed II's reign, the Galata Cathedral of San Paolo and San Domenico was converted into a mosque and then handed over to the Moriscos, who had emigrated to Istanbul upon the fall of Granada in 1492, hence the renaming of the building as the Arap Mosque.[4] In the 1540s, the San Michele Church was torn down to make way for the construction of Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha's *khan* (traders' caravanseray/workshop), which was built on the same site.[5] A century later, San Antonio Church was converted into a mosque by another grand vizier, Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Pasha.[6] In the meantime, small local masjids were being constructed in Galata; thus a gradual, but at that time limited, Islamization of intramural Galata was unfolding (Figure 5.1).

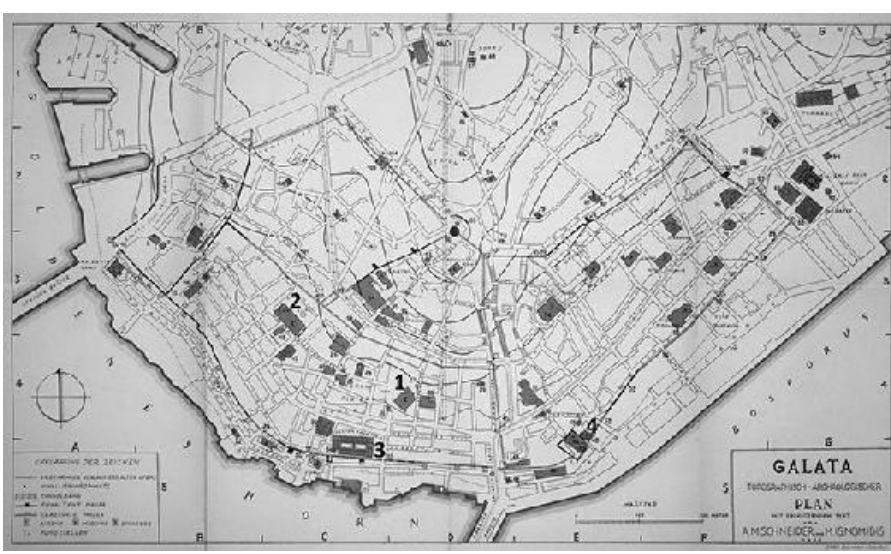


Figure 5.1 Former Catholic churches of Galata indicated on Schneider's 1944 map amongst other civilian and religious buildings:

1. San Francesco Church, replaced by Galata New Mosque, 2. San Paolo and San Domenico, converted to Arap Mosque, 3. San Michele Church, replaced by Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha's khan, 4. San Antonio Church, converted to Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Pasha Mosque (after Alfons Marie Schneider, *Galata, Topographisch-Archaologischer Plan Mit Erlauterndem Text 1896–1952*, [Istanbul: 1944]).

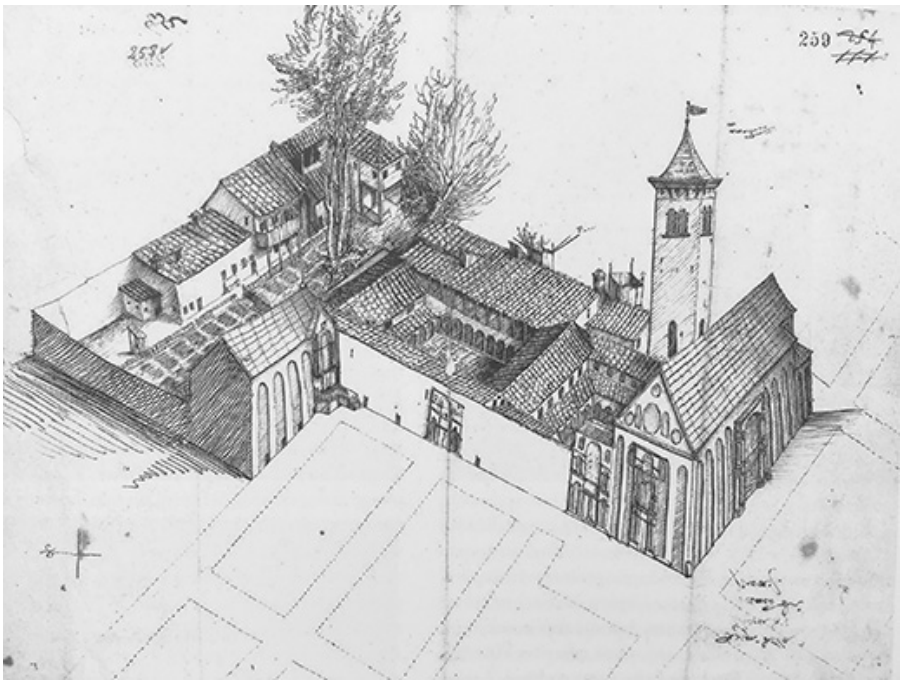


Figure 5.2 View of the San Francesco Monastery, before 1639. Rome, Archivio Propaganda Fide, S. R. 163, f. 258v, 259r, 262r, 290r (after Rafał Quirini-Poplawski, *Sztuka Kolonii Genuenskich w Basenie Morza Czarnego (1261–1475)* [Krakow: 2017], p. 110).

As we know, upon the conversion of the San Paolo and San Domenico Church into the Arap Mosque, the San Francesco Church became the most important Catholic shrine in Galata and the Franciscan prior of the monastery became the Catholics' *de facto* spiritual leader. Officials of the *Magnifica Comunità*, the Community of the Latin-Rite Christian Subjects of the Sultan, met regularly in this church, which became the geographical and spiritual focal point of the Catholic community in Istanbul[7] (Figure 5.2). However, as a consequence, San Francesco started to be affected by the fluctuations in the Ottoman–Catholic relationship. For instance, when in 1585 the Islamic authorities began to declare the Christians as liable for the approaching doomsday, which was said to be imminent, San Francesco Church was closed for worship. The church stayed closed

until 1597 when it was opened as a result of negotiations led by the ambassador to the French King, Henry IV. That same year, the Latin churches in Galata came under the protection of France, and new capitulation agreements were signed as well.[8]

It was not only socio-political factors that augmented the importance of San Francesco Church above others – its architecture and outer decoration also lent themselves to its communal significance. Clavijo, who visited Constantinople in 1403, stated that 'the building is magnificent and richly ornamented'[9] while Evliya Çelebi remarked that 'it has a high, four-cornered bell tower and there are strange and fanciful pictures on the walls of its interior and exterior.'[10] This monastery, with its beautiful mosaics on its western front, welcomed the great processions of Good Friday, which many Turks, particularly the Janissaries, also attended out of curiosity.[11]

Those 'fanciful pictures' could be seen on the splendid facades of the church. A close look at the drawing in Figure 5.2, which is also available in Gualberto Matteucci's detailed study revealing the history and architecture of San Francesco Monastery in Galata, show figural representations above the entrance doors of the church, the first cloister and the adjoining Santa Anna Chapel, all of which were admired by both Catholic and Muslim visitors.[12] The same source tells us that the interiors of the church and the monastery cells were also adorned with mosaics and paintings, as were also the tombstones.[13]

According to the writings of contemporary visitors, San Francesco, the principal and most conspicuous church of Galata, was located near the market and close to the quay, with an accompanying monastery, half of which lay on the plain and the other half on the slopes of the adjacent hill. It was isolated from the public streets but the front door of the church overlooked a small square surrounded with workshops. Besides the main Church of San Francesco, the monastery was comprised of two cloisters and the adjoining Santa Anna Chapel, as well as the gardens and several service buildings. The layout of the monastery formed an L shape; San Francesco Church itself was a single nave basilica with a large rectangular apse to the east with two flanking smaller apses on both sides sat at the southern tip of that L, oriented towards the east, and parallel to the Golden Horn[14] (Figure 5.3). The rectangular bell tower was adjacent to the church's north-east corner and its height was almost twice the height of the church.[15]

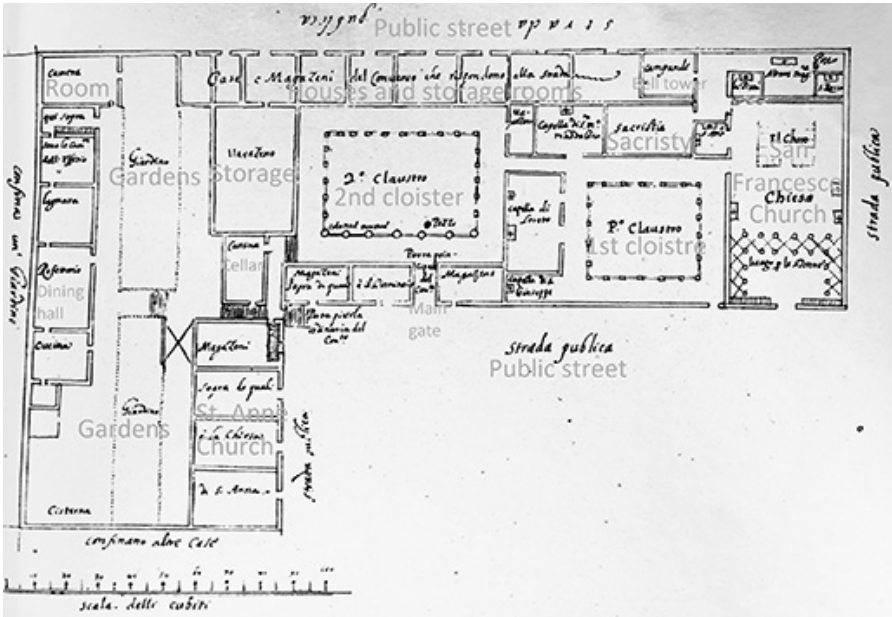


Figure 5.3 Layout of San Francesco Monastery before 1653, labels in English added by the author. Rome, Archivio Propaganda Fide, S. R. 163, f. 263v (after Matteucci, *Un glorioso convento*, p. 368).

This remarkable building was burnt to its foundations on 18 March 1639. The Ottoman state at that time was not in favour of its rebuilding,[16] so it stayed in ruins for several years until it was partially rebuilt as a smaller church.[17] A descriptive graphic sketch drawn by P. N. Guidalotto in 1653, show the situations of both San Francesco Monastery after the fire of 1639 and the new San Francesco Church which was rebuilt adjacent to the former one.[18] The first cloister of the old monastery formed the nave of the new church with surrounding chapels, while the old sacristy was transformed into the high altar with the choir now situated behind it. On the other side, trees and weeds rose up from the interior of the burnt-out remains of the old San Francesco Church while shops attached to its old walls grew up around its exterior.

Nevertheless, another fire in Galata on 16 April 1660 destroyed the new church along with the accompanying Santa Anna Chapel and many other buildings in Galata. Once again, immediate rebuilding was not permitted; furthermore, the demographics were changing. Muslims were now located on the site of Santa Maria Draperis, a nearby burnt-down Franciscan church;[19] the changing religious make-up of the population was signalling more significant transformations ahead. However, upon the conquest of Heraklion in 1669, which concluded the long Cretan War and re-established diplomatic relations

between the Ottomans and the Venetians, permission for reconstructing the church was given.[20] A newly built and much more modest San Francesco Church was reopened in 1670, this time under the safekeeping of the Venetians.[21]

The last act in the history of San Francesco Monastery opened with yet another fire devastating many buildings in Galata on 6 May 1696.[22] This time, the San Francesco Church was not totally destroyed but only partially damaged; however, the political mood had changed and the necessary permit for its rebuilding was never issued.[23] In the last decades of the seventeenth century, the relationship between the Ottomans and the Catholic countries had been irretrievably damaged, with the Siege of Vienna in 1683 ending in defeat for the Ottomans followed by successive losses for the Empire inflicted by the Holy League, in particular from the Venetians.[24] Alongside international pressure was increased domestic hostility towards non-Muslims at home, formulated and popularized by the seventeenth century *Kadızadelis*.[25] This turn toward radical religious conservatism is reflected in some local legislation from the period: while a decree of 1693 designated conditions under which Christians could dwell near Muslim neighbourhoods, another decree of 1701 strictly forbade the settlement of Christians around the mosques of Galata.[26] Accordingly, the ruins of the church and the accompanying buildings of the monastery were seized from the Catholics upon the decree of Mustafa II on 6 March 1697; Mustafa's mother, Gülnuş Sultan, built Galata New Mosque on its site.[27]

Contemporary chronicler Silahdar Mehmed Ağa saw the development as very positive, summarizing the event as follows:

> […] After the fire, the necessary permit for the rebuilding of the churches was given but the Venetian Church was torn down to its foundations so as to build a very ornate and beautiful mosque for the *Valide Sultan* and water was brought here from a spring. Hence Galata had been livened up much more than it was before.[28]

The nineteenth century writer Ayvansarayî Hüseyin Efendi also relates that ‘On the site of *Valide Sultan* Mosque, which is famed as Galata New Mosque, used to stand a church, which had burnt down, and not having religious permit for its rebuilding its land had become vacant. After some time, this mosque was built there.’[29] French traveller Aubry de la Motraye, who witnessed the construction of the mosque during his stay in Istanbul, explains the replacement of the church by the mosque as follows:

> The Italians of this order [Franciscans] had a very large and pretty handsome one [church], dedicated to their patron St. Francis, which was, as it were, the Parish Church for the Roman Catholics of Galata for some ages; but this being destroyed by fire, and the Turks of Galata having remonstrated to the Port that these monks had made a tavern of their convent, which was joined to and burnt with it, by selling there wine and brandy, the ground was taken possession of to build a mosque upon, which was not yet finished when I arrived there, and word was sent to the monks by the interpreter, who complained of the injustice done to them, that the fire having destroyed and purified a place of scandal and abomination, the Porte would raise upon it a building of purity and piety. These complainants, not daring to ask anything farther after this answer, were settled at Pera, where they perform till this day their service in a private house.[30]

Thus the Franciscans had to move to a chapel on the premises of the French Embassy in Pera, whereupon they prudently changed their political affiliation by replacing their Venetian protection with French in 1721.[31] Another French traveller, Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, who saw Galata New Mosque in 1700 just after its completion, gives information about the name of the building, and highlights similar reasons for not permitting the rebuilding of the church as follows:



Figure 5.4 This sketch by Charles Robert Cockerell dated to 1810 depicts Galata New Mosque from its courtyard looking towards north-east, as identified by the author (© Trustees of the British Museum).

> Franciscan priests were performing their jobs in Galata for four centuries. However, their church was converted to a mosque after the fire. Francs call this mosque the Saint-François Mosque and Turks call it the Valide Mosque due to the present queen mother, who has contributed to the rebuilding of it. The church was lost purely by the fault of the Italian monks, who lived a most irregular life. They sold by retail wine and brandy at their houses, a most abominable trade in the eyes of Turks. [Those same Turks] wrote on the foundation inscription [of the new mosque] that *they have transformed a place of scandal and infamy into a house of God*.[32]

A postscript added to the waqfiyya of the mosque in 1708 also emphasized that 'the church, which used to be the home of deviant paintings and idolatrous people, was cleared off by the vitriol rage of the God.'[33] When all these contemporary accounts are considered, it is clear that religious concerns from the local population clearly played their part in the decision to replace San Francesco Church with Galata New Mosque. La Motraye's and Tournefort's affirmation of 'ill-mannered and alcohol selling clergy' must have served as ample excuse for withholding the religious permit, as Ayvansarayî noted.

Nevertheless, it is most likely that the political conjuncture summarized above was the true reason behind the conversion of main Catholic church in the city, a church, lest we forget, which had already been rebuilt several times, in spite of objections raised. Indeed, Silahdar Mehmed Ağa underlines for his readers that even though the permit for rebuilding other churches was given, the Venetian Church was pulled down. It seems most likely that given the socio-political landscape of the time, we can draw the conclusion that Venice's participation in the Holy League in particular did in fact pave the way for this replacement. Thus, the historical context provided the conditions for the first imperial mosque in Galata (Plates 4 and 5, Figure 5.4).

The Construction of Galata New Mosque

It is difficult to comment on the construction of a nonextant building, particularly one that disappeared long ago, leaving few material clues behind. Luckily, several invaluable documents – including the reconnaissance survey and the building register – have survived in the Ottoman archives of Istanbul and they shed light on the construction process of Galata New Mosque, and help substantially in the efforts to understand many aspects of its architecture. Several other documents

also supply information about later repairs and additions to the mosque, and give new insights about further expropriations or decoration of the royal pavilion attached to it.

The reconnaissance survey dates to 28 September 1696,[34] almost five months after the fire but prior to Mustafa II's decree that the land of the monastery should be seized. It was apparently drawn up to supply advance information to the patron about the intended construction of a mosque. It gives information about the desired outer view and plan type of the mosque, other architectural elements around it, its potential water supplies, what spolia could be used and from where the workers would be collected. Regarding the date of this document and keeping in mind that Mustafa II was away from the capital for his second military expedition onto Austria between April and October 1696,[35] it can be surmised that this survey was demanded by Gülnuş Valide Sultan and that it was either her own will, or perhaps that of one of the high-ranking officers, to replace the burnt-down monastery with her mosque.[36]

We know that this document, which was apparently presented to Gülnuş Sultan, was issued by Chief Royal Architect Mehmed, as it was signed and sealed by him at the bottom of the page.[37] Since he was the one who carried out and drew up the reconnaissance survey, the architect of the building also becomes evident. Mehmed Ağa had become the chief royal architect before the issue of this document in 28 September 1696, and stayed in post until 7 June 1698 (AH 28 Zilkade 1109).[38] The construction of the mosque was completed at most just a month after his deposition, and so from the available evidence, we can assume that the architect of the Galata mosque project must have been Mehmed Ağa.

The reconnaissance survey gives the estimated expenses for the following elements of the build: the construction of the main mosque (812,785 *akçes*); construction of the ablution fountain, water reservoir and ten latrines (234,150 *akçes*); construction of the waterways[39] (398,300 *akçes*); and shipping and general transportation (135,200 *akçes*). After these four main construction costs, spolia from the monastery ruins – 8 medium-sized columns, 31 small columns and 9 iron beams – were listed down as 'available in the construction site and excluded from the reconnaissance cost.' Then, the value of available stone, brick and iron materials from the ruins were noted down as 'can be reused after demolishment,' and after subtracting the cost of extraction of debris, a total of 52,680 *akçes* is found. Finally, this value is subtracted from the sum of four main construction costs and a total cost of 1,517,755 *akçes* for the build is reached.

A much more valuable statement appears in the following lines of

the document. It reads 'the plan and the roofing of this mosque, upon the decree, are designed to be similar to those of the Arap Mosque.'[40] The Arap Mosque, the aforementioned converted Latin church, had a hipped roof and, being the oldest shrine of the neighbourhood located only 200 meters away, it apparently constituted a visual prototype for Galata New Mosque. This piece of information is invaluable in two ways as it highlights two important phenomena.

Firstly, it is understood that the requested plan and roofing of the mosque was ordered to be undertaken by the chief royal architect via a formal decree, which, in the sultan's absence, must of course have come from the Queen Mother. For Ottoman architectural historians who have tended to cast doubt on the intervention of female patrons in the design of buildings, this statement clearly shows that Gülnuş Sultan was directly involved in the planning of her mosque. Secondly, this request of the Valide Sultan highlights her sensitivity to the surrounding urban fabric, a trait on general display in Ottoman architecture. Thus, even though all previous imperial mosques in Istanbul were domed, the roof of this mosque was to follow that of a nearby ancient building. Nevertheless, this request might well have been the result of other constraints, which will be discussed below.

A further document – the building register[41] – supplies invaluable data for the enterprise as it gives the details and pricings of every single material used in the construction of the mosque complex.[42] The register also details the expropriation prices paid for the monastery land and the daily wages distributed to the construction workers. The document clearly states that all these buildings were constructed by the Valide Sultan, leaving no doubt as to the financing of the building enterprise.[43] Since the register comprises the expenses from 23 April 1697 (AH 1 Shawwal 1108) to 10 July 1698 (AH 1 Muharrem 1110), the first day of the new Hijri year, it can be deduced that the construction took a total of 15 months, and was completed by the end of Hijri year 1109. The inscription panels of the mosque, which give the completion year as 1109, are thus coherent with the records.[44]

Following the fire of 6 May 1696, the site of San Francesco Monastery had stayed intact for almost a year, during which period the reconnaissance survey was carried out. With Mustafa II's decree on 6 March 1697, the vacant land must have been expropriated before the kick-off of construction on 23 April 1697. The purchase money paid for each part of the land and for the ruins was listed in the document,[45] with the total coming to 232.281 *akçes*. This amount must have been paid to Franciscan priests as well as to others who owned property or land around the construction site. Although it is impossible to be certain, the spolia listed in the reconnaissance survey

may well have been reused in the construction, and subsequently excluded from the costs.

The building register gives comprehensive costings for the following: materials used in the construction; wages of workers and overseers; expenses for the interior decoration of the mosque; and expenditures for the waterways. When these are examined thoroughly, invaluable clues emerge allowing us mentally reconstruct this building that is no longer with us.

First of all, the most costly expense items were various kinds of stone, lead and timber, which tells us the basic building materials for the main body and the roof of the mosque. The available visual sources suggest a similar main structure of stone and timber and a lead-covered roof. Wall stone, cut stone, limestone and marble were used alongside brick, roof tile, Khorasan mortar and lime, clearly all to be provided for the masonry of the structure.

It is also possible to make some speculations about the materials used in the construction from details in the reconnaissance survey. In that document, the reuse of 8 medium sized columns, 31 small columns and 9 iron beams from the San Francesco Monastery had been proposed. Thus, the medium-sized columns might have been used in the arcade of the portico with iron beams clamping them together, and the smaller columns might have been used to support the gallery, which might have occupied the space just after the main entrance and formed at least a part of the royal pavilion.

Once the rough construction was completed, the installation of architectural elements and decoration of the mosque must have started. Iron grills would have been placed in front of the windows, which would have been constructed using glass and brass wires. The doors, windows, cupboard doors, balustrades and preacher's lectern were of walnut wood. These balustrades might have been used either in the muezzin's platform, in the gallery, or both. The crescents placed on top of the roof, the minaret, and the minbar would have been gilded, as would have been the inscriptions placed on top of entrance doors of the mosque and the minbar. The interior of the mosque must have been decorated with hand-drawn paintings of *nakkaş*s (muralists) as no tiles are listed in the register. This is unusual for an imperial mosque of this period, but it could be attributable to several factors: the financial difficulties of the period, the decay of tile workshops in İznik or perhaps to a change of taste after the intensive use of tiles in three previous imperial mosques of the same century, Sultan Ahmed Mosque, Üsküdar Çinili Mosque and the Eminönü New Mosque.[46]

In the final phases of the construction, the prayer hall was covered

with carpets from Uşak with a rough *hasır* (protecting mat) probably laid underneath; by contrast, the royal platform was covered with Persian carpets, probably with Egyptian *hasır* underneath. Within the mihrab, minbar and *kürsü* (preacher's lectern), prayer rugs were used while the door and the stairs of the minbar were covered with *çuha* (broadcloth). For lighting, two big copper candlesticks were bought in addition to two brass candlesticks. The ceiling was covered with gilded *peşkun* (a kind of fabric), the doors were covered with curtains and a *Muhr-i Süleyman*[47] along with other decorative items were installed inside the mosque.

By the time the construction of the mosque was finished, the waterways must have also been completed, as expenditure on their construction formed slightly more than one-fifth of the total budget of 4,855,871 *akçe*s. This was more than three times the cost estimated in the reconnaissance.[48] A total of 1786 *kulaç*s[49] were dug to channel the water through clay pipes, and these were surrounded by stone walls and covered with stone caps. Hemp was used to coil up the clay pipes, a special paste (*lökün*) was used to apply putty between them, tin was used to solder the tubes and ventilation chimneys were opened at intervals. The dug-out soil itself was carried out to sea.

Although the mosque was completed and opened for prayer within the Hijri year 1109 (before 10 July 1698)[50], the furnishing of the royal pavilion and the royal platform inside the mosque was delayed, and was probably finished only just before the official launch, which took place some months after its functional opening to the public. It is likely that the official launch was postponed because the sultan and the queen mother were out of Istanbul at the time of completion.[51] Prior to the launch, twelve Bursa pillows were placed in the royal pavilion as well as ornamented cushions made up of broadcloth, filled with fleece wool. Besides these pillows and cushions was a throne. The pavilion was also to be perfumed by a rose water flask and censer, and small candlesticks were to be used for incense. A broadcloth prayer rug was laid down for the sultan. The royal platform itself was separated from the public prayer hall by a latticed grille and its windows were covered with curtains made of *kutnu* (a special type of cotton). After these final touches were complete, the mosque was ready for its official launch on 26 September 1699 (AH 1 Rebiyülevvel 1111). Gülnuş Sultan invited her son Mustafa II to the opening ceremony; after the Friday prayer, she presented him with an adorned horse and a jewelled belt, and went on to bestow other gifts to those who had been responsible for building the mosque.[52]

Constructions related with mosque continued in the following years, with several additions and repairs made during the tenure of

Gülnuş Sultan. Silahdar Mehmed Ağa relates that a stroke of lightning hit the mosque on 7 September 1700 causing the minaret to collapse, leaving only its base and cracking the walls of the mosque from one side to another.[53] The repair was carried out in September 1700 (AH Rebiyülevvel 1112), immediately after the lightning strike, and at the same time the mosque's courtyard was enlarged and the latrines were relocated.[54] These changes were possible because two allotments of land next to the mosque had been bought in order to expand them to the courtyard; the extra space also allowed the latrines to be moved to a more appropriate distance away from the mosque.

Gülnuş Sultan's then-chamberlain, Kethüda Mehmed Efendi, had responsibility for overseeing all her building activities, and he wrote a letter to her soon after this repair and enlargement, probably around September 1700, in which he summarized the entire building process of the mosque starting from the initial expropriations:

> […] This land of the church was used appropriately according to the plan drawn at the beginning in order to build the mosque, ablution fountains and latrines. And the lands acquired before and recently around the mosque and added to its courtyard were 2194 *arşın*s[55] in total. Those lands belonged either to Muslims or Christians or Jews, and they were not seized without the landowners' will. The landowners argued that they were not in favour of selling their lands cheaply since this is an imperial mosque. Thank God, those lands were bought gradually and with the will of their owners.[56]

In the rest of his letter, Kethüda Mehmed Efendi explained that the courtyard wall of 2979 *arşın*s long was completed; seven more latrines were constructed to bring the number up to seventeen latrines with running water, a much-appreciated public convenience for the whole neighbourhood as all the residents had started to use them; and other necessary repairs had been carried out, together with the construction of a more durable and thicker minaret.

In the following years, even more land was acquired around the mosque to construct houses, both for the mosque's imams and also for letting in order to generate income for the waqf. Firstly, two houses were built near the mosque for the imams; then, seven two-storied courtyard houses as well as two cellars were constructed adjacent to the mosque for rent.[57] These new components of the complex were listed in two separate postscripts to the waqfiyya of the mosque.[58] Kethüda Mehmed Efendi also mentioned these houses in another letter to Gülnuş Sultan, where he stated that at present there were only non-

Muslim houses around the mosque and it was desirable that at least some Muslim dwellings should surround it, in order to encourage more Muslims to settle in the neighbourhood.[59]

However, Kethüda Mehmed Efendi's words in another letter, dated to AH 1117 (1705/1706), indicate that the neighbourhood around the mosque remained predominantly non-Muslim even eight years after its construction.[60] Gülnuş had clearly complained about the continued presence of non-Muslim houses and ships surrounding the area, but Kethüda Mehmed Efendi was unable to refute this argument. Perhaps to mollify her, he claimed instead that the mosque's congregation was so great that it was the second only to that of the Hagia Sophia in size – clearly an exaggerated claim. However, we can read at the heart of Gülnuş Sultan's complaint her clear intention to inspire a religious transformation in Galata, with her mosque as the focal point. In other words, she wished for the Islamization of the area.

That same year, Kethüda Mehmed Efendi had built a hadith madrasa and a primary school to the east of Gülnuş Sultan's mosque. Although these buildings' were his own, in this same letter he petitioned for Gülnuş Sultan's financial support in order to help him meet their operating costs. Although she was doubtful about the demand for religious education schools in a mostly non-Muslim neighbourhood and questioned whether there would be students to attend, Gülnuş Sultan granted the salaries of the attendants from her waqf.[61] In 1706, a second fountain adjacent to the eastern gate of the courtyard linked the mosque directly to *Kethüda*'s madrasa and primary school across the narrow street. This marked the establishment of a *de facto* mosque complex, financed almost entirely by Gülnuş Sultan. This Islamic complex, reminiscent of the previous Christian monastery that had once stood there, paid testament to Gülnuş Sultan's intention to encourage the religious transformation of Galata, and, in large part, her success in her efforts.

How Did It Disappear?

Galata New Mosque also saw several repairs and renovations after the death of its patron. An extensive restoration was carried out in 1821 since the roofing, leads, cornices, passage to royal pavilion, water reservoir, courtyard walls and other elements were in need of repair.[62] It is highly probable that the differences one can observe in the roofing and the projecting royal pavilion between Plate 5 and Figure 5.5 (also shown in Figure 5.14) are due to this repair, which took place during the reign of Mahmud II (r. 1808–39). Galata New Mosque acquired its final appearance after this renovation. The

minaret and various other parts of the mosque were repaired once more in 1847[63] and yet another – probably the last – repair took place around 1892.[64]

Towards the end of its life, the mosque and its accompanying elements were used for other purposes. The mosque's courtyard started to be used as the bazaar area for the Thursday market (*Perşembepazarı*) around 1874.[65] The portico and the rooms of the mosque were used to shelter military officers around 1902.[66] The two houses that had been allocated to the mosque's imams were bought and began to be used as a police station, but changed purposes again when they began to be used as the horse barn of the Ottoman Bank around 1906.[67] On 6 May 1913, the sale of those houses was approved by the office of the mufti (*fetva-hane-i amire*),[68] and this suggests that by that time the building had lost its main function as a mosque. Nevertheless, the roof of the mosque was dismantled around 1908 in order to be restored in a project led by Vedat Tek, one of the leading figures of the First Turkish National Architectural Movement, and his colleagues, but the consecutive wars of the 1910s interrupted these efforts and left the building in a vulnerable state of gradual decay.[69] Left this way for the ensuing decades, it had become almost a wreck by the 1930s, as its masonry walls had partly collapsed and only its foundations and basement were left intact.[70]



Figure 5.5 This detail of Abdullah Freres' photograph 'Port from Galata Tower' (1868) captures Galata New Mosque on the right and in the foreground, with Turhan Sultan's Eminönü New Mosque shown in the background just across the Golden Horn (© Istanbul Research Institute).



Figure 5.6 The alignment of the shops of Galata Hardware Market is perpendicular to the qibla direction (author's photograph, 2012).

The mosque's decline is evident in its photographic history. In photographs taken in the late nineteenth century, the mosque appears to be in good condition, whereas a few decades later photographs of the early twentieth century show it with its minaret half-ruined.[71] Indeed, on the maps drawn in the early years of the Republic of Turkey, the land was labelled as 'Ruined New Mosque' with the foundations of the building indicated by a dashed line.[72] The whole plot including the courtyard and ruins of the mosque was designated as a 'Greenery Zone for Conservation' as a part of Henri Prost's Master Plan of 1937 for Istanbul, and it was proposed that a street cross over it.[73] Moreover, three archival documents dating from 1937 certify to the sale of this land as a means of income for Directorate General of Foundations,[74] which had recently acquired the responsibility of all waqf buildings. The sale document was approved by President Kemal Atatürk, despite opposition from the Governor and the Mayor of Istanbul, who were unable to save even the greenery.

Finally, the remaining ruins of the mosque were demolished in order to make room for a brand new hardware market in 1957–8,[75] which was opened on 17 March 1960 by Prime Minister Adnan Menderes.[76] Since 1960, the hardware market has occupied the land which once housed the most important Catholic church of Galata, then, for centuries, an imperial mosque of Gülnuş Sultan. From above we can observe that the contemporary layout of the area has its shops

aligned perpendicular to the qibla direction; this implies that those same foundations of the mosque must have been reused during the area's transformation from imperial splendour to commonplace trade hub (Figure 5.6).

The Architecture of Galata New Mosque

In order to visualize Galata New Mosque as it stood on the site now occupied by the hardware market, it is essential to consult historic maps, old drawings and rare photographs. However, most of the photographs supply only a limited outer view of the building since they were taken from afar, usually from Galata Tower, where the building only forms a small part of Galata's larger panorama. Nevertheless, 16 photographs from glass negatives discovered in the archives of Istanbul Archaeological Museum that were taken in 1930s before the demolishment of the mosque give invaluable information about its interior and exterior form, and allow a partial reconstruction of the mosque together with its subsidiary elements. Samples from this series can be seen in Figure 5.7 and Figure 5.8. Moreover, surviving elements of the complex discovered during fieldwork have helped inform this visual reconstruction. For instance, fragments of limestone blocks found in the area of the eastern corner of the mosque adjacent to the courtyard wall, evidence of the blocked arch of the courtyard's eastern gate (Figure 5.10b), traces of a smaller secondary door next to it and two surviving fountains once attached to the courtyard walls (Figures 6.1 and 6.3) all help in a visual reconstruction. Nevertheless, the physical and documentary data at best helps us to reconstruct the final phases of the mosque's life after numerous repairs and additions; its original form during the time of Gülnuş Sultan is barely documented, except in the detail from Barker's panorama of 1800 (Plate 5) and Cockerell's drawing dated to 1810 (Figure 5.4), two sketches which were drawn before the extensive restoration of 1821 and most probably show the original form of the mosque with only minor alterations. Therefore, even though a partly hypothetical view and ground floor plan of the original mosque is given (Figure 5.14 a and b), the 3D reconstructions in Plate 7 have been based on the final form of the building, since maps and photographs supplying the most accurate data date from this later phase.



Figure 5.7 The courtyard of Galata New Mosque in a photograph dated to 1930s (courtesy of Istanbul Archaeological Museum Encümen Archive).

The German Blues Map of 1914 charts the layout and dimensions of the mosque, fountains and other elements within the courtyard (Plate 6). It is clearly seen from this map and other similar examples[77] that the courtyard walls formed a trapezoid shape and the mosque was situated inside, angled towards the direction of the qibla with its eastern corner intersecting with the courtyard wall. It is exactly this intersection where the remains of the original limestone blocks were discovered.

On this map, two fountains attached to the courtyard walls are seen in their original positions with their water reservoirs behind. The one on the south side originally faced south and was placed adjacent to the main portal of the courtyard; it now faces east after being removed from its original spot and repositioned during the construction of the hardware market (Figure 6.1). The one to the east still remains on the same spot but now lacks its water reservoir (Figure 6.3 and Figure 5.10b). The ablution fountains and their water reservoir were originally attached to the northern courtyard wall. The two houses allocated to the mosque's imams were likely located inside the courtyard, flanking the western gate. The seven houses that were built adjacent to the mosque courtyard in order to supply income to the waqf were likely located to the north of the courtyard. The latrines, which were rebuilt at an appropriate distance but still within the courtyard (see above), should have occupied the northwest corner

of the courtyard.[78]

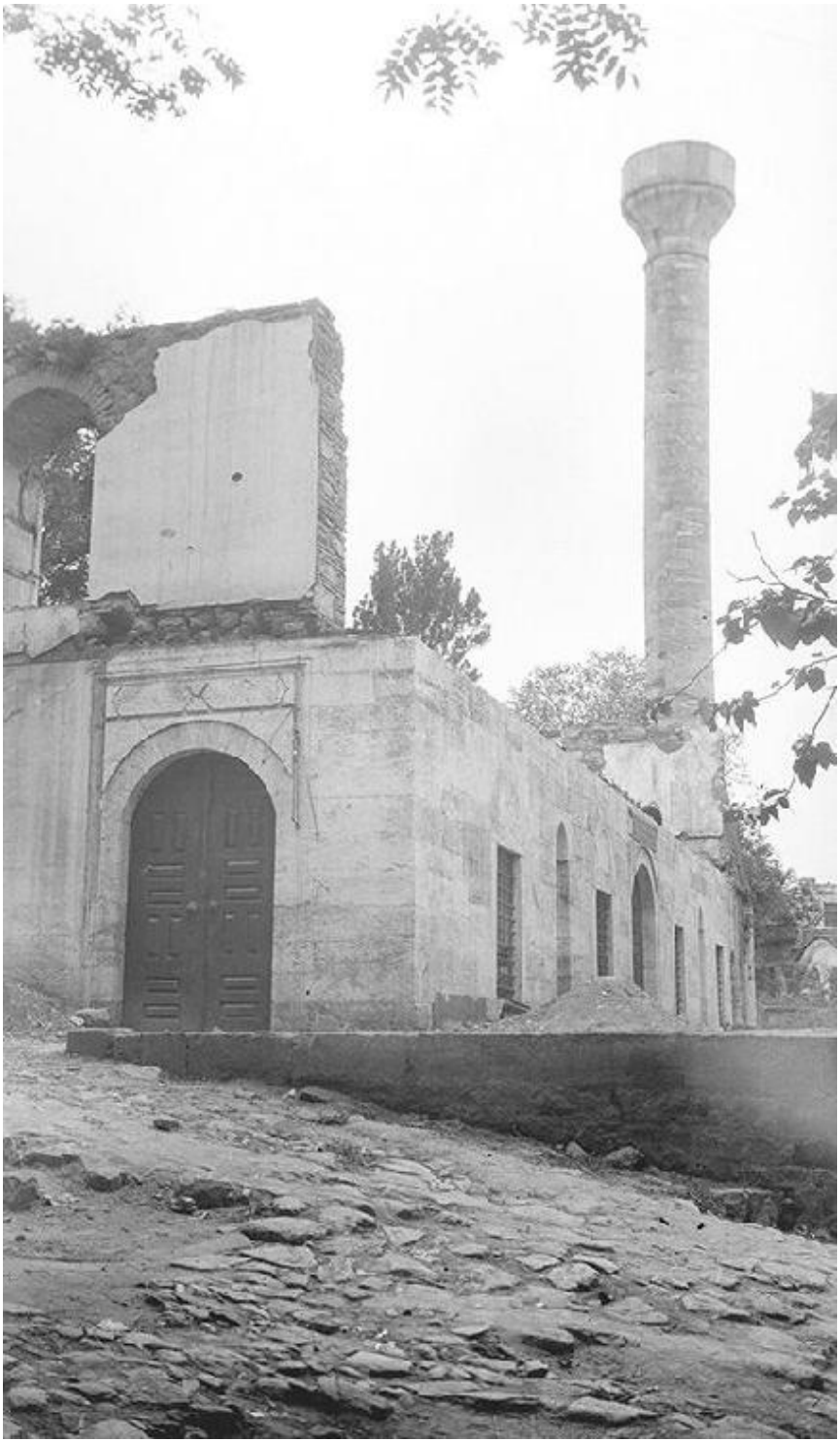


Figure 5.8 Galata New Mosque's view from the north in a photograph dated to the 1930s (courtesy of Istanbul Archaeological Museum Encümen Archive).

We can tell that the courtyard walls must have had iron grille windows as they are listed as an expense item in one of the enlargements. These same walls used to house five gates: one of them was on the south, located to the right of the mosque's main fountain, with the street it used to open onto continuing to bear the name 'Yeni Cami Kapısı Sokağı' – 'New Mosque Gate Street.' Indeed, it seems that this gate was the main portal since there was an inscription attached above its arch which now sits mounted above the surviving southern fountain[79] (Figure 5.9). The inscription is a poem composed by Taib, and conveys the message that *Valide Sultan*'s mosque had become the place of Muslims and close to God, though this spot used to be the place of idols and icons before:

> Dignity of the country, pride of the royal palace,
> Shelter of the state, supplier of the true sharia,
> Glorious, honourable, eminent Queen Mother,
> Whose blessing and benefaction contented the entire world,
> By building this mosque in such beautiful style
> Has won the happiness of this world and the world to come.
> Once a monastery full of vice
> It has become a place of heavenly light by her blessings and favour.
> It was once the place of the idolatrous,
> Thank God it is now the meeting place of Muslims.
> May God grant immortality to the source of pious works
> And save that blessed person from error.
> Abjurer angels have written the date of it:
> The mosque of the pious, the place of prostration and of the Muslims. Year 1109.'

Two other gates opened through the western courtyard wall, while another two opened on to Medrese Street to the east, both of which flanked the eastern fountain which was added to the complex in 1706. The northern gate was a small auxiliary door, while the southern one was larger, and these two gates with the wall next to them have partly survived. The original positioning of the latter is seen in Figure 5.10a, and today it is still visible, although it has been blocked, plastered, and indeed covered with goods (Figure 5.10b). The northern, smaller door, located to the right of the fountain, needs a keener eye to observe it: it has also been blocked and plastered and a shoe repairer's booth covers it nowadays.

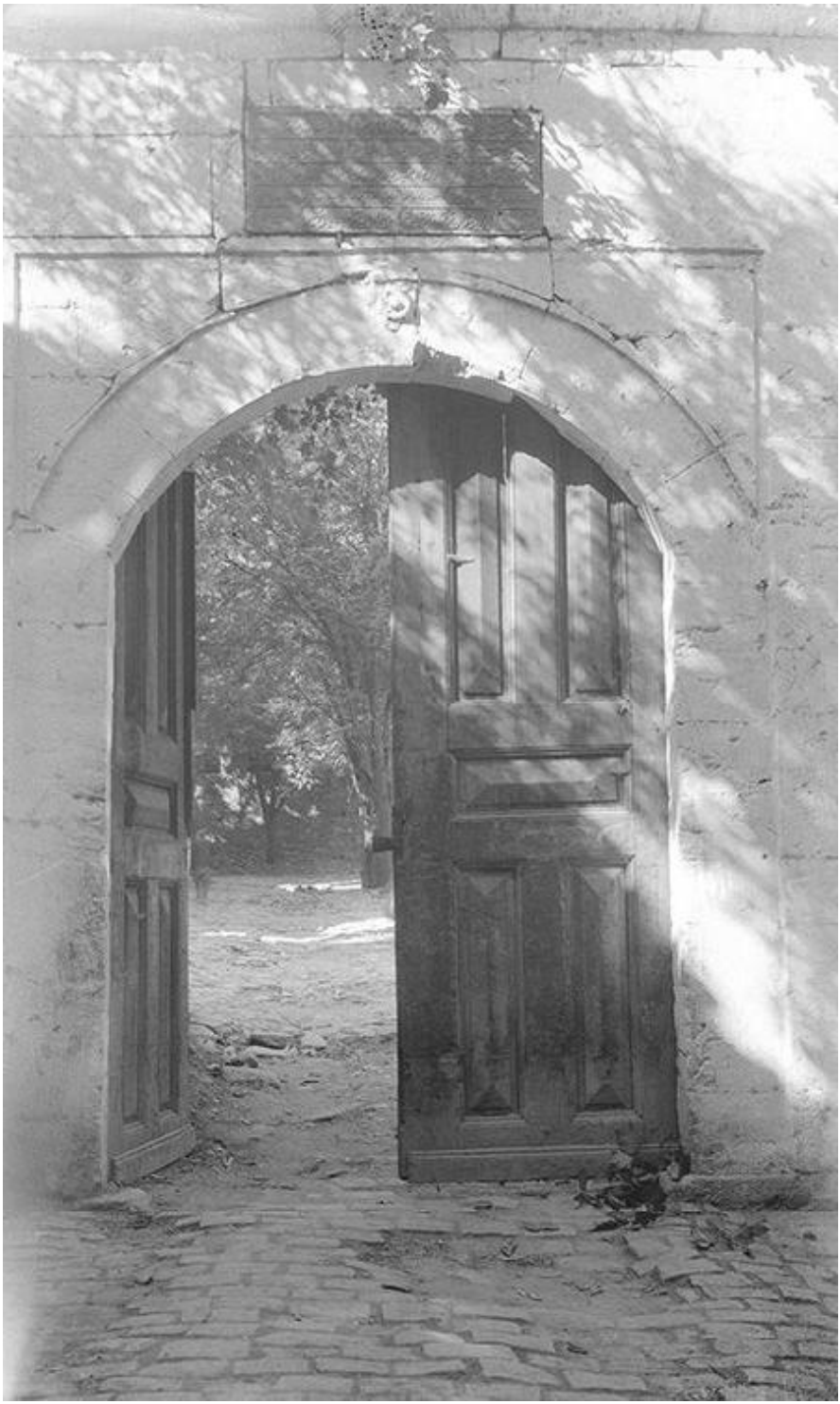


Figure 5.9 The southern gate of the courtyard of Galata New Mosque, with its foundation inscription above, in a photograph dated to the

1930s (courtesy of Istanbul Archaeological Museum Encümen Archive).

After this brief inspection of the elements surrounding the mosque now, an architectural description of Galata New Mosque can be offered using the clues at hand. The only plan of the mosque was drawn by Cornelius Gurlitt (Figure 5.11) and he writes that the shape of the mosque was a wooden flat-roofed quadrangle with a wooden portico and a minaret next to it.[80] When this plan is examined further, it can be seen that there was no gallery inside the mosque, the portico and the royal pavilion were accessed via a different flight of stairs, the portico was probably columned and encased in wood while the royal pavilion entrance was surrounded by ashlar masonry or brick walls. Entrance to the minaret was made via a door on the portico's southern corner and the plan also shows another door beneath and to the right of the portico that would have led to the basement below.

However, this plan carries some minor inconsistencies with the German Blues Map and the available photos. In order to better visualize the original layout, then, we must take this plan into account together with the available maps and photographs (Figure 5.7, Figure 5.8). The mosque had a rectangular prayer hall with a width of 24 m and length of 19 m, approximately. The portico and entrance hall of the royal pavilion projected out from the cut-stone walls of the mosque with a width of approximately 4.6 m. With the available data, it is impossible to designate the exact form of either of these elements, but it could be suggested that they were either arcades or galleries covered with wooden panels on their outer sides and tiered with several windows. We can tell that there was a two-sided stairway aligned on the mihrab axis and adjacent to the portico, and there was only one side stairway next to the royal pavilion entrance.



Figure 5.10 Left: original situation of the eastern gate of the courtyard of Galata New Mosque in a photograph dated to the 1930s (courtesy of Istanbul Archaeological Museum Encümen Archive); right: present situation of the same gate, with the eastern fountain to the right (author's photograph, 2012).

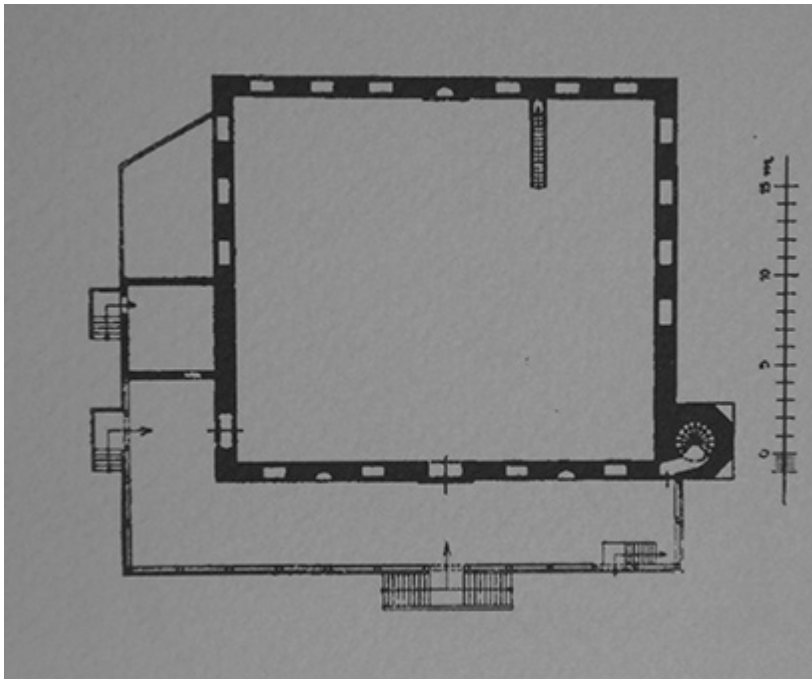


Figure 5.11 Cornelius Gurlitt's plan of Galata New Mosque (after Cornelius Gurlitt, *İstanbul'un Mimari Sanatı* [Ankara: Enformasyon ve Dokümantasyon Hizmetleri Vakfı, 1999], p. 76).

It can also be suggested that the door one entered after climbing the side stairways gave way to another staircase inside, which must have led upstairs to the royal pavilion. Indeed, traces of these staircases can be seen on the left in Figure 5.8, and this pavilion would have encompassed the whole of the upper level of the projecting parts, that is, the portico and the royal pavilion hall, as well as an extra oriel visible in Figure 5.5.[81] The oriel itself was supported by two columns, the base of one of which can be seen in Figure 5.7. The royal pavilion may have been projecting into the prayer hall as a gallery or separated from it by a screen in line with the north-western wall of the mosque.

It is seen from the photographs in Figure 5.7 and Figure 5.8 that the portico of the mosque is elevated on a sub-basement and that there is an entrance door to the basement to the right of it. Adjacent to the mosque stood a thin, cylindrical minaret with a square base, which could be accessed through a door to the right end of the portico. However, the minaret seen in the photographs with its baroque influenced mouldings might not be the original one, since the minaret was rebuilt on several occasions, including once during Gülnuş Sultan's lifetime, as seen above.

After climbing the double-sided stairs, one would have reached the portico. The portico was separated from the interior by the mosque's northern wall, with a wooden door in the middle, a pair of grilled windows with a niche in between on either side. The mosque's marble foundation panel was placed above the depressed arch of the central portal (Figure 5.12a, Plate 7). Its inscription was written by the poet Râzi and each of its 18 lines gave the completion date of the mosque as 1109.[82] This inscription panel was identified by the Turkish Construction & Art Works Museum (*Türk İnşaat ve Sanat Eserleri Müzesi*) in Istanbul (Figure 5.12b), where it was taken after the demolition of the mosque.[83] Just like the panel which adorned the main gate, this poem is a celebration of the Valide Sultan, her generosity and her decision to transform a place of idolatry and sin into a place of sober worship of the one true faith:

> The mighty queen mother, the mother of Mustafa Khan,
> The seas themselves cannot contain her constant generosity and beneficence.
> God save this glorious person from harm forever
> And make her prosperous in this world and the next.
> This person of high dignity is inclined always to charity with [a bright and] pure intent,
> This house of idols became the House of God by her design,
> And like the light of the Sun, she bestowed her offerings upon the city of Galata,
> Bringing life to this city with the help of a favourable architect,
> And by constructing this beautiful mosque, they performed a deed of great worth,
> Here she opened fountains where delicious water flowed as if from the rivers of heaven
> May God raise high the gate of this lofty building!
> So that even the wings of Gabriel cannot reach its top
> Which in its beauty resembles an ornate rose garden
> And its minaret a cypress seedling in therein.
> What a charming pavilion, those platforms, that pulpit!
> May God make it a place of merriment and prosperity forever and ever.
> The entire world prayed and Râzi told its date;
> May this beautiful mosque be the lofty playground of the angels. 1109.



Figure 5.12 Top: Galata New Mosque's foundation inscription in its original place atop the central portal in a photograph dated to the 1930s (courtesy of Istanbul Archaeological Museum Encümen Archive); bottom: the original inscription panel of Galata New Mosque in Turkish Construction & Art Works Museum (courtesy of Türk İnşaat ve Sanat Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul).

However, photographs such as Figure 5.5[84] and the historic maps such as Plate 6 show the mosque in its final shape, with an enlarged royal pavilion and renewed roofing. The royal pavilion, which used to be attached to the northeast edge of the mosque, was then extended until the edge of the portico and projected out into the courtyard with an oriel (Figure 5.14 c).[85] In these sources, the pavilion itself has a dense row of narrow, rectangular, sash windows, a feature likely dating from the nineteenth century. The gallery was again projecting slightly outwards and a light coloured band below the windows separated the gallery from a closed timber portico at ground level.

The abovementioned archival documents indicate that the royal pavilion had been constructed with the mosque although it was not decorated until just prior to the official launch. The royal pavilion was a new element of mosque architecture and had first been implemented in two major imperial mosques of the seventeenth century, Sultan Ahmed Mosque and Eminönü New Mosque. In both cases a ramp led

up to the pavilion and the scale of this new architectural feature was monumental.[86] By contrast, the space was limited at the Galata New Mosque, and access to the pavilion would likely have been provided not by a stately ramp but by staircases; likewise, the pavilion, like the mosque itself, would also have been modest in scale.[87]

As seen above, the thin stone cylindrical minaret with a square base underwent many rebuildings, therefore the baroque-influenced decorations evidenced in the photographs could not have been part of the original. This hypothesis is supported by Cockerell's drawing in Figure 5.4, which shows tiles beneath the cone of the minaret, rather than the garland reliefs seen in later photographs. Moreover, interestingly, those photographs show no pointed arch of Ottoman type in the mosque. This could be due to two possible reasons: either it was decided to refrain from using pointed arches in order to give the mosque a novel look, novelty being a quality more and more desirable as the eighteenth century progressed, or that original pointed arches were replaced by round or basket arches during later restorations, which was also the case for other contemporary examples.[88] We can only speculate on this point.

Another photograph gives an interior view of the mosque (Figure 5.13). This image show the interior in a state of disrepair, with wooden beams piled up along the back wall, in all probability remnant beams from the hipped roof, the timber portico, and the galleries. The prayer hall of the mosque was a plain rectangle (24 m x 19 m), with platforms of the sultan and that of the muezzins possibly attached to ante-qibla wall. The mihrab was originally a niche decorated with muqarnas and bordered with mouldings, but it was later covered with plaster to create a round niche with a figure of the Kaaba with flanking curtains painted on it in what is obviously a nineteenth-century renovation. The minbar was placed to the right of the mihrab, between two windows, but by the 1930s, when the photographs were taken, only the trace of it on the wall could be observed.



Figure 5.13 Interior view of Galata New Mosque towards the east in a photograph dated to the 1930s (courtesy of Istanbul Archaeological Museum Encümen Archive).

Returning to Cornelius Gurlitt's rather basic outline of the mosque (Figure 5.11), his plan implies that there was no interior gallery, that the portico and the royal pavilion were accessed via different stairs, and that the portico was timber while the entrance to the royal pavilion was surrounded by ashlar masonry walls. Gurlitt also details a door beneath and to the right of the portico leading to the basement below. However, it is undeniable that Gurlitt's plan carries several inconsistencies when compared with the German Blues Map and the available photos; for this reason, the plan is at its most useful when it is taken together with the maps and photographs we have analyzed heretofore. In so doing, we are able to render the following plans seen in Figure 5.14.

The limited visual materials[89] available to us can only allow a partial architectural rendering of this bygone building, and even on that basis several assumptions have to be made. Thus, the 3D models shown in Plate 7 were created using the available data with the sole purpose of providing a conjectural visualization of the building purely for scholarly purposes. As an aside, we should note that rebuilding this mosque would not only bring huge inconsistencies, but also simply produce a false copy of the original building. Despite this, its rebuilding has been proposed several times in the past, and remains a current topic of debate.[90]

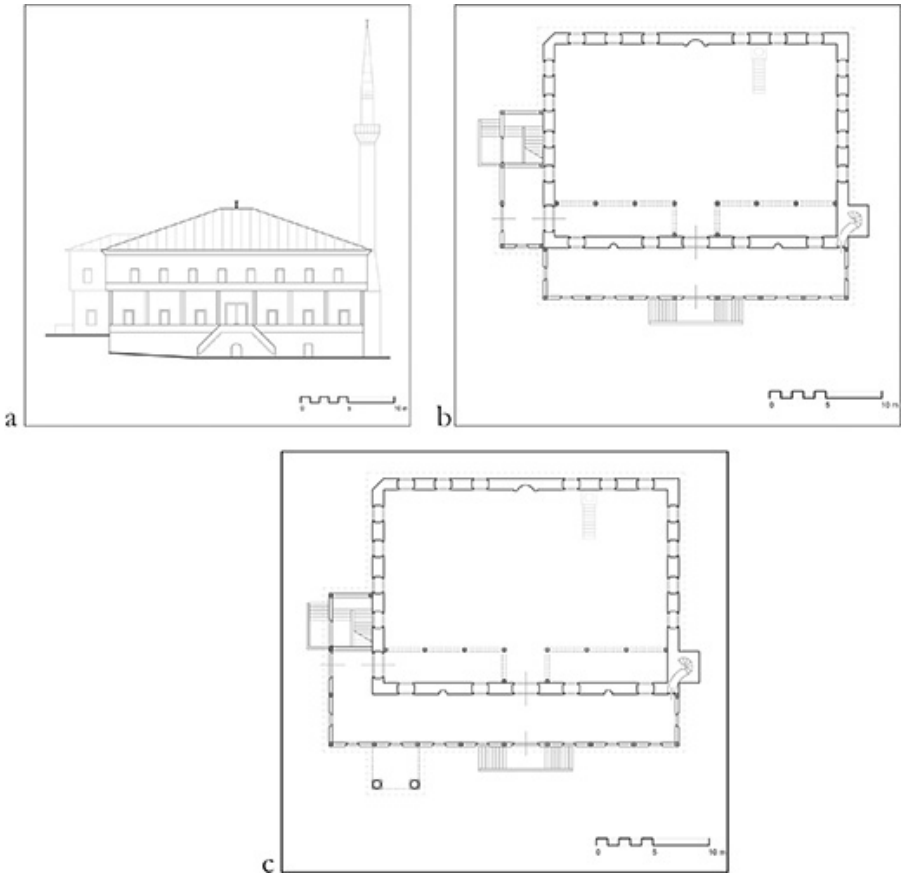


Figure 5.14 Partly conjectural view and ground-floor plans of the original layout of the Galata New Mosque: a. front view and b. ground floor plan before the restoration of 1821, showing the original form of the mosque; c. ground floor plan after the restoration showing the enlarged royal pavilion (all figures drawn by Erkan Torun).

Galata New Mosque's Unusual Modesty

Besides its complicated history, one of the more interesting aspects of the Galata New Mosque is unusually modest architecture. Having a hipped roof instead of a large and high dome sitting on pillars, it must have looked relatively unassuming by comparison to previous queen mothers' buildings. Furthermore, it deviates from the rules of architectural decorum as formalized in the sixteenth century by the most famous of Ottoman architects, Sinan:[91] indeed, the Galata New Mosque could be mistaken for the mosque of a lower-ranking dignitary rather than that of the Valide Sultan. In fact, contemporary observer Tournefort said as much when comparing Gülnuş Sultan's

Galata New Mosque with its namesake, *Eminönü* New Mosque, built by Hadice Turhan Sultan across the Golden Horn. Gülnuş Sultan, Tournefort claimed, had simply converted the Franciscan Church in Galata into an *ordinary* mosque.[92] Indeed, recollecting Eminönü New Mosque's splendid royal pavilion and its lavishly tiled interior[93], Galata New Mosque must have seemed positively humble by comparison. What, then, could be the reasons behind this unusual imperial architecture?

Reconsidering the historical circumstances once again yields several insights: first of all, the turbulent period after the Battle of Vienna was catastrophic for the Ottomans in many aspects, including the economy.[94] Also, recalling the Ottoman wisdom, it should be remembered that, in the early period of the Ottoman Empire, the construction of grand imperial mosques was only justifiable after a victory in battle, and only then if there was sufficient booty. Plundering the royal coffers to pay for unjustifiable and ostentatious imperial architecture was likely to be met with rigorous disapproval from the religious authorities, as in the case of the vast Sultan Ahmed Mosque Complex, which was met with severe disapproval by the *ulema* and accusations of faithlessness *(imansız)* being levelled at its founder, Ahmed I.[95] This hairy episode was not easily forgotten by subsequent generations of the Ottoman dynasty, and construction of imperial mosques was scaled back dramatically with the responsibility of patronage passing to queen mothers.

Returning to the comparison with Eminönü New Mosque, Hadice Turhan Sultan had enjoyed more prosperous political and economic circumstances when constructing her mosque in 1660s, than had Gülnuş Sultan in the construction of hers. In particular, the Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha had managed to recover the Ottomans' military confidence with successes against the Venetians and suppressing uprisings in the Balkans and in Anatolia.[96] Moreover, she seized the opportunity presented by the devastation left after the 1660 fire in order to change the religious demographics of the Eminönü area, expropriating Jewish properties with generous compensations, which in turn allowed her to justify the completion of the building enterprise initiated and then abandoned by her predecessor, Safiye Sultan.[97] The result was one of the most impressive imperial mosques in Istanbul.

Gülnuş Sultan faced altogether tougher circumstances. Even if her own budget had been sufficient to build a similar grand scale mosque, neither the *ulema* nor her subjects would have been pleased with it given the economic and political conditions of the time. Indeed, she could well imagine that such profligacy might have been answered

with her son's demise, such was the sway of the religious authorities at that time.[98] Moreover, she would have had to consider the influence of the particularly conservative *Kadızadeli* movement, which was against all unnecessary flamboyance in mosque construction, singling out the raising of more than one minaret as particularly objectionable.[99] This was a period where the doctrines of *Şeyhülislam* Feyzullah Efendi, an important *Kadızadeli* figure, had the ear of Sultan Mustafa II.[100]

There were also more practical considerations to be taken into account. Lack of construction space may well have restricted any building on a larger scale (Figure 5.3). It took time to expropriate this L-shaped and sloping plot of land from its owners and when we consider the need to build according to the orientation of the Qibla, it must have been simply impossible to build an imperial mosque which reached the scale and magnificence that had been seen in prior Ottoman builds on the land available.

Then, of course, there was the character of our patron herself. Our consultation of the archival documents shows that, however unusual, Gülnuş Sultan was behind the simplicity of Galata New Mosque. It was she who requested the hipped-roof and the layout mirroring that of the nearby Arap Mosque, sensitive, perhaps, to the surrounding urban fabric of Galata. The Chief Royal Architect, Mehmed, took Gülnuş at her word and, as a result, this *extraordinary* imperial mosque was constructed. However, its exceptionalism was also perhaps its downfall: in all likelihood it was this very modesty that yielded not only the ignorance which accelerated its decay, but also the lack of interest in the building and a consequently poor visual archive. The dearth of visual depictions makes an error-free architectural reconstruction impossible to achieve.

In conclusion, the construction of this unusual imperial mosque, the only one to be built in Galata, was the result of political, economic and religious conjunctures of late seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire. It replaced a Catholic church to show ‘the triumph of Islam’, but in turn it came to be replaced by a twentieth-century hardware market. Thus the Galata New Mosque, just like San Francesco before it, became another layer in the urban palimpsest, to the extent that now it is almost impossible to imagine that it once stood there.

CHAPTER 6

WATER FOR ALL: FOUNTAINS IN EDIRNE, GALATA AND BEYOND

Water, the essential source of life, has always played an essential role in the history of civilizations. This was no different for the Ottomans in the time of Gülnuş Sultan. The availability of running drinking water in particular was crucial to Ottoman settlements, unlike Byzantine conurbations which were dependent on cisterns. Indeed, the Ottomans spent a great deal of time, energy and money building aqueducts and constructing waterways in order to bring water to their cities, particularly to densely populated ones such as Istanbul, where water was very scarce. In fact, populating a neighbourhood in an Ottoman city basically required only two buildings: a mosque for prayer and a fountain for water. Therefore, building fountains was one of the major philanthropic preoccupations, on a par with building mosques.

Gülnuş Sultan played her own part in this history; indeed, fountains constituted an important part of her building activities. She built or repaired nearly 30 fountains in Edirne, Istanbul and elsewhere, and constructed the waterways which carried water to those fountains from far away sources. This, in turn, intensified her reputation among her subjects as a philanthropic and beneficent queen mother, bringing her perhaps more praise than her mosque-building activities because of the great number of people who benefited from these works. Notably, the archive shows that she took especial interest in the construction of these water structures, which can be traced in the correspondence between Gülnuş Sultan and her chamberlain, Kethüda Mehmed Efendi.

Gülnuş Sultan's efforts to improve people's access to drinkable running water through various construction projects, both decorative fountains and hidden waterways, will be examined as a prominent dimension of her patronage in this chapter. Alongside a little-known fountain in Edirne, three fountains built from scratch, one of which has been misattributed until now, and two repaired fountains in Galata will be studied in order to paint a picture of Gülnuş Sultan's general efforts to bring water to the subjects of the Ottoman Empire.

This investigation will draw on a series of archival documents in order to help to shed light on the construction processes of these water projects. Moreover, in addition to other fountain repairs in Edirne and Menemen, the repair of a public bath in Istanbul will also be surveyed in order to reveal the importance she placed on water structures which, when taken together, actually account for the greater part of her philanthropic building activity.

Edirne: A Small Gesture for the Second Capital

After receiving the title of queen mother in 1695, Gülnuş Sultan moved to New Palace in Edirne, where her son Mustafa II was settled. Although Istanbul was established as the official capital of the Ottoman Empire after the conquest of Mehmed II in 1453, Edirne had continued to retain its importance as the Ottoman's second capital and was enjoyed by many sultans as a summer residence and as a base for royal hunting parties and celebrations. Edirne also remained strategically important for the Ottoman army, being both the departure and end point of many military campaigns into Europe. However, it was Gülnuş Sultan's husband Mehmed IV who had permanently moved his court there in 1663 and, during his reign and throughout the reigns of three later Ottoman sultans, Istanbul was actually eclipsed by Edirne. The preference for the second capital ended with the deposition of Mustafa II in 1703.

Gülnuş Sultan's return to Edirne, therefore, represented a return to her prosperous days as a favourite and powerful figure in the palace. In fact, now, as Queen Mother, she was much mightier in status; nevertheless the political and economic circumstances were much worse than those she had enjoyed as a favourite, due to ongoing wars against the Holy League. Accordingly, her first act of patronage, discounting the conversion of a church in Chios in her name, had to be a modest one: in 1696/7 (AH 1108), two years after she became the Queen Mother, she financed the construction of a fountain with an adjacent prayer platform in Edirne, just outside the city, on the way to northern villages Çömlek and Akpınar (Plate 8).

This was a very simple fountain, pursuing the classical Ottoman design concept, which was based on minimizing the decorative elements, especially for utilitarian buildings. It consisted of a basin, a pointed-arched niche with slight mouldings and two tiny arched holes within for storing drinking bowls. The inscription panel above it reveals the benefactor of the fountain as ‘mother of warrior Sultan Mustafa’ in its first verse and the construction date as AH 1108 in its last verse.[1]

The prayer platform at the back of the fountain was a quadrangle with the dimensions of 993 x 776 cm and with a height of 56 cm. The mihrab of the platform was simply the posterior of the fountain, carved as an arch in low relief symbolizing the mihrab niche. This platform and the fountain was clearly intended for those travelling to and from Edirne, as the city centre was approximately an hour's walk (5 km) away. Thirsty travellers could drink the water and use it for their ablutions before performing the prayer behind the fountain.

The location of the fountain was described in the endowment deed as 'on the public road passing through Doğancı farm, nearby the Palace Gardens (*Hadika-i Hassa*) in Edirne'[2], and as 'opposite the İmad Kiosk'[3] of the New Palace in another document. The proximity of the building to the New Palace or the Palace Gardens could be taken as an indication of the builder's connections to the imperial court, that is, its palatine builder. Moreover, we can imagine that Gülnuş Sultan herself might well have used the road passing by this fountain as she was travelling to the gardens and palaces in the northern villages of Akpınar and Çömlek, or alongside the campaign troops heading to Eastern Europe.[4] Thus, the very spot on which the fountain was located may have been chosen so as to let its benefactor enjoy it to the full, just as much as the many other travellers who passed along its way.

Contemporary documents show us that Gülnuş Sultan also financed the repairs of a fountain in Akpınar village and another one on the road to Çömlek village.[5] However, it seems that neither of those fountains has survived; while a fountain stands at the entrances of both villages today, it is not possible to establish any links between these buildings and Gülnuş Sultan, using the available data.[6] Even so, it can be claimed that Gülnuş Sultan's financing of those repairs was, in a sense, a tribute to those villages, the gardens and palaces of which she frequented.[7] Moreover, just as with her newly built fountain in Edirne, she might well have taken pleasure in both the aesthetics and the functionality of those fountains, drinking the water flowing from them as she undertook her journeys to these two villages.

The route of the waterways of the fountain with prayer platform was roughly given by Oral Onur[8]: he suggests that the 'Valide Sultan Fountain' uses a waterway built during the reign of Mehmed II emanating from a source in Akpınar village. Therefore, the repair of the fountain in this village might have coincided with the building of the new fountain, while its waterways were being constructed from the source in Akpınar village. However, documents show us that yet another repair of the waterway that sourced a fountain located near Turna Hill in Edirne, as well as the repair of a pool in a nearby

garden, were financed from the income of Gülnuş Sultan's Galata and Chios mosques' waqf's AH 1124 (1712) budget, with costs totalling 187,600 *akçes*.[9] Indeed, waterway repairs and construction seem to have been a continuous process; their original routes are only being revealed now by archaeological excavations.

In conclusion, Gülnuş Sultan's fountain with a prayer platform, just 5 km north of Edirne, could be regarded as a humble tribute to the second capital, which was the functioning seat of the court at that time. It could also be considered to be a celebration of her new tenure as Queen Mother, though a modest one, given the historical circumstances of 1696–7. The two fountains repaired in Akpınar and Çömlek villages could similarly be regarded as tributes to those villages, as she frequently visited the gardens and palaces there.

Galata: Quest for Sweet Water

As we saw in Chapter 5, one of the major focal points of Gülnuş Sultan's building activities was Galata, a district of Istanbul reputed for its pre-dominantly non-Muslim inhabitants. After the construction of her New Mosque, the area began to witness a gradual religious and demographic change. However, her interest in Galata did not cease and she went on to commission several philanthropic buildings, in particular fountains and waterways, for the thirsty people of this neighbourhood. And, in many ways, she can be credited with kick-starting the fountain-building boom of the eighteenth century by unstopping the taps of five fountains in Galata. She oversaw the construction process of these fountains and waterways closely, frequently making inquiries about the progress of her projects to her chamberlain. In order to shed light on this process, which lasted for a decade and extended from her first tenure as Queen Mother through to her second tenure, we should first go back to the construction of Galata's New Mosque.

Gülnuş Sultan's recently built mosque in Galata featured a notable fountain, adjacent to the southern gate of the courtyard, which bore the same date as the mosque itself, AH 1109 (1698)[10] (Figure 6.1). The land on which the fountain was built had been acquired with a cost of 16,800 *akçes* at the same time as the construction site of the mosque was being prepared on the ruins of San Francesco Church. The fountain was built on the southern façade of its water reservoir. In its original position, it is likely that it would have provided an impressively monumental welcome to the congregation of the mosque passing through the gate into the courtyard, but nowadays it faces east, having been removed and resituated in the hardware market

which replaced the mosque (see Chapter 5).



Figure 6.1 Gülnuş Sultan's first fountain in Galata was built adjacent to the courtyard gate of Galata New Mosque (left, in 1930s, courtesy of Istanbul Archaeological Museum Encümen Archive), but now stands in Galata Hardware Market (right, author's photograph, 2012), after it was moved to the eastern facade of the water reservoir. The inscription panel above is that of Galata New Mosque, which was once placed above the southern gate of the courtyard.

When compared to previously constructed fountains in Istanbul, this fountain was grander, with a height of 4.43 m and a width of 3.88 m, and thus appeared monumental in size, particularly as two pilasters flanked the fountain's niche. Pilasters were a new feature of Ottoman fountain design, and created a three-dimensional grandeur through their indentations and projections. Contrary to the modesty of the mosque that it accompanied, the scale and innovation of the fountain were signalling a change that would come to the fore in Istanbul's eighteenth-century fountain architecture.[11] The monumental decoration of a building, whose function was simply to allow water to flow from a tap, was an early example of the Ottomans encouraging the ordinary to be exalted by the extraordinary, the everyday street to be adorned with high architectural splendour, a trend which was to continue into the eighteenth century and beyond.

On one level, however, this fountain was simply the result of constructing a series of waterways to supply water to the mosque, an

undertaking which cost 1,039,717 *akçes* – approximately half of the total construction cost for the mosque itself. The water, which was in all probability sourced via either of the options mentioned in the reconnaissance survey,[12] was distributed both to the ablution fountains and to this ornamental fountain. However, the water brought from those sources was not sweet, and Gülnuş Sultan complained to her chamberlain, Kethüda Mehmed Efendi, saying 'the brought water is hard water and cannot be drunk peacefully'. He replied that, '[…] even so, it is not as hard as not be drunk. However, the water of Grand Admiral is very sweet and if it is added to the wells of her highness, it will not taste hard anymore.' His response continues: the Grand Admiral had donated some fields to Gülnuş Sultan as they were close to her waterways and contained wells of sweet water just as she desired. This water would thus be tapped from the wells and brought to the mosque and fountain in Galata, if Gülnuş Sultan approved.[13]

The official inauguration of the mosque took place when Gülnuş Sultan and her son Mustafa II returned to Istanbul in September 1699 and, as seen in the previous chapter, the royal pavilion was decorated prior to the official opening. A document containing the expenses of this decoration also includes the building expenses for a new fountain in the Emekyemez neighbourhood of Galata, repairs to the waterways as well as the expenses of additional water brought from a new well.[14] This is the sweet water from the wells the Grand Admiral donated. With an extension from these wells being made to link up to the already-existing waterways of the mosque, the water coming to the fountain and the mosque became softer and more plentiful.

With the increased water supply, Gülnuş Sultan was able to build the Emekyemez fountain, detailed above (Figure 6.2), probably on the route of the existing waterways. The inscription panel of the fountain bears the date of its construction as AH 1111 (1699), which is supported by the details in the abovementioned document. However, it is the first line of this inscription panel that yielded decades of the fountain's being misattributed to an otherwise undocumented queen mother called 'Cudidil Valide Sultan'[15]:

> Famed for her generosity, most charitable and esteemed queen mother,
> For every drop of water, may God bestow upon her countless rewards.
> She revives the thirsty people with pure flowing waters
> By creating such a beautiful and unmatched work of art.[16]

The archive confirms the name to be a mistake: a postscript added to

Gülnuş Sultan's waqfiyya of Galata New Mosque mentions this very fountain and makes the true identity of its benefactress clear.[17] It is possible to speculate that the confusion came about because the thought of constructing a further fountain actually came from Kethüda Mehmed Efendi, chief caretaker of Gülnuş's building activities – we may remember his decision to build a fountain in Chios without consulting the Valide Sultan. However, it is unlikely that Gülnuş Sultan knew nothing of the decision, as we have already seen that she was dealing closely with the water issue in Galata, even though she was in Edirne at the time. Howsoever this may be, the misattribution has persisted for centuries and it is gratifying to be able to correct the record.

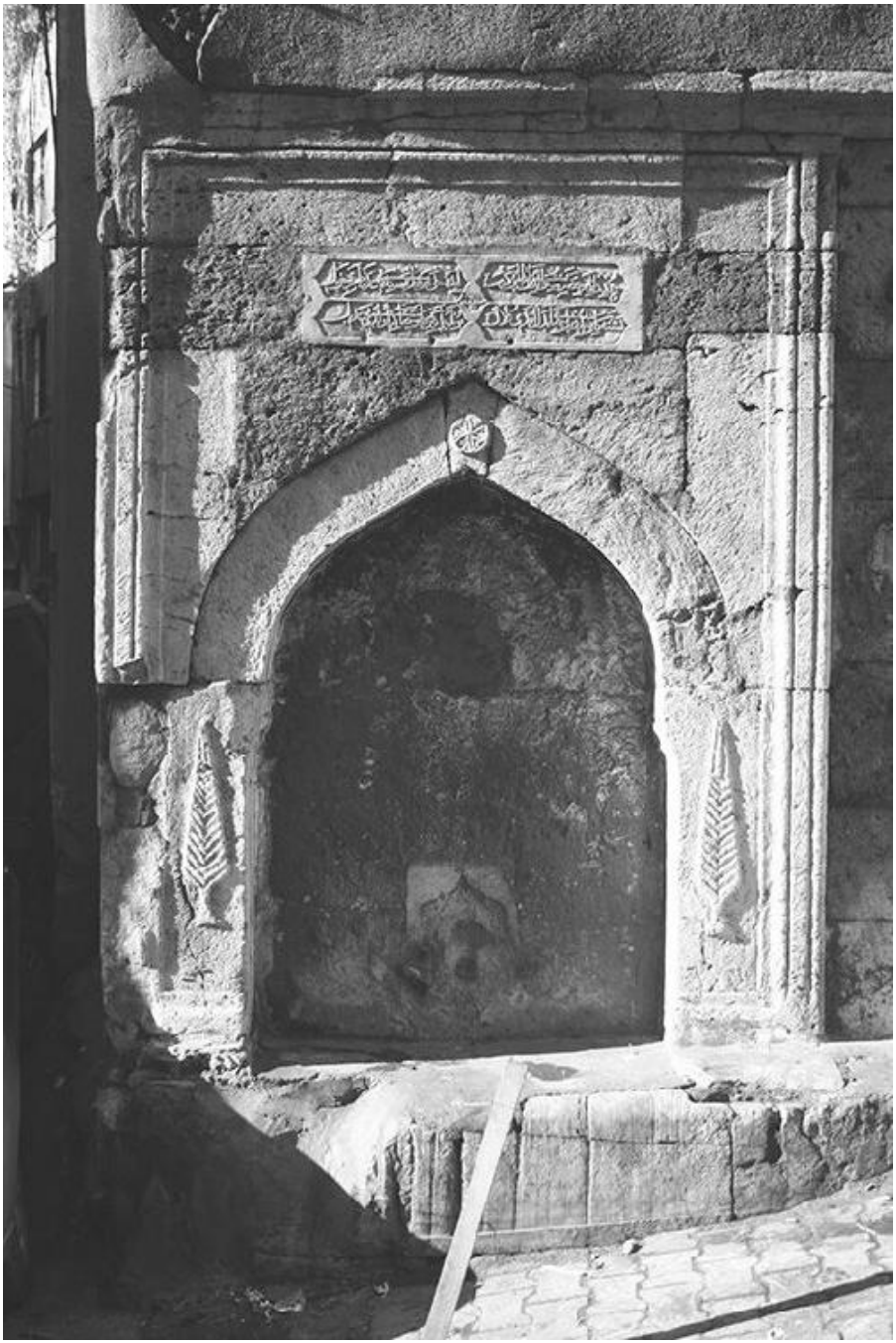


Figure 6.2 Gülnuş Sultan's second fountain in Galata, located in Emekyemez neighbourhood (author's photograph, 2012).

This second fountain, with a height of 3.21 m and width of 2.99 m, was quite modest when compared to the one built next to the Galata New Mosque in the previous year. It had a plain façade framed with

mouldings with a pointed-arched niche flanked by two high-relief cypresses and a rosette carved on the keystone. Its simplicity reinforces the idea that the fountain's construction came about due to an abundance of water flowing to Galata after additional sources were linked to the existing waterways. Attention of the order of that paid to the design of the mosque's fountain was naturally sacrificed in favour of functionality, as its purpose was simply to supply water to residents of Galata rather than to provide the means to facilitate part of a holy religious ritual.

Unfortunately, the additional supply of sweet water from the water wells of the Grand Admiral failed to raise the quality of the running water flowing from the fountains to the level Gülnuş Sultan had desired. She again brought up this issue with her chamberlain, asking: 'Why is the sweet water coming to the mosque in Galata not separated from the hard water?' Kethüda Mehmed Efendi explained in a letter, dated sometime between 1700 and 1705, as follows:

> […] during on site measurements at the source, I found out that four out of five *masura*[18] of the water is hard and one *masura* is sweet […] One *masura* sweet water is not enough for two fountains, however there are five wells at the source of our sweet water. If we take them and dig new waterways, and if God wills two *masura*s of sweet water appear, it would make three *masura*s of sweet water including the one *masura* we already have, and this supply would be adequate for the two fountains that her highness built. The remaining hard water could be distributed to the ablution fountains and toilets. The water issue is very important and its continuity can only be understood in two to three years. That is why I chose to postpone it [the separation of sweet and hard water].[19]

Although Kethüda's reply may sound defensive, his decision to postpone the construction of new waterways might well have been correct. As he had written in a previous letter to Gülnuş Sultan, a source of sweet water had been sought desperately around Galata but an abundant one could not be found and all those which had been discovered had dried after a while, resulting in a great amount of wasted expenditure.[20] In all his letters about this subject, Kethüda underlines that the water issue is always on his mind, and from this we can assume that bringing sweet water to Galata was a preoccupying wish of Gülnuş Sultan, too.

After a period of two years which allowed them to observe the continuity and quality of the water, Gülnuş Sultan apparently

approved Kethüda's suggestion of bringing sweet water from the Grand Admiral's wells. A commission of experts including Kethüda Mehmed Efendi was set up to run a reconnaissance survey in order to calculate the construction cost of the new waterways. The survey document, composed on 1 June 1705 by the chief inspector of waterways (*su nazırı*) Osman, estimated the cost of construction as 1,973,750 *akçes* – or 16,447 *guruş*.[21] This document mentions Çiftlik and Tatavla as water sources; a later postscript of the waqfiyya pins the sources more specifically to Kara Hasan Ağa Zade Çiftliği, located on the right bank of the stream near Piyale Pasha Mosque in Kasımpaşa, and today's Kurtuluş respectively.[22]

Clearly, Gülnuş Sultan had approved the proposed budget for the survey, as Kethüda went on to inform her that it had been two weeks since the construction of the new waterways started; he further stressed to her the importance of the project, underlining that both Muslim and non-Muslim residents of Galata were in desperate need of water and that they lacked the means of paying for it and were instead being forced to fetch it from faraway places.[23] Although fountains built previously did exist in the neighbourhood, it was Gülnuş Sultan's initiative that brought sweet water to Galata and saved the residents from their water shortages. This project thus exalted her name among her subjects. Later, a permanent solution for the water problems of Galata was found when Mahmud I in 1731–2 built waterways linking the area to Taksim, but Gülnuş Sultan's fountains were an important step on the road to establishing access to fresh clean running water as a right for the residents of Galata, especially at a time when fresh water was being sold for profit.[24]

The construction of the new waterways took place between 8 May 1705 and 15 May 1706 and the expenses were written down on the building register. Expenses included: digging galleries, building ventilation chimneys, installing clay pipes and lead tubes, workmanship and expropriation costs paid to landowners who owned the land through which the waterways passed.[25] The total cost was considerable −2.666.373 *akçes*, which was 2.5 times the construction cost of the first waterways of the mosque, and even greater than the construction cost of the mosque itself. This was money being invested in public works, solely for the benefit of the populace, a fact which won Gülnuş Sultan much praise and devotion.

The great amount of money that was consumed for the new waterways brought 10 *masuras* of sweet water, which was more than expected; now sweet water flowed from the fountains in Emekyemez and that next to Galata New Mosque. For this reason, it seems that another fountain adjacent to the mosque was well under construction

by the time the waterways were completed.[26] This fountain was also soon finished, and Gülnuş Sultan was sent the inscription poem giving its date (AH 1118 [1706] as written on its inscription panel[27]) by Kethüda for her approval.[28] This fountain, though it no longer flows with water, still stands in Bereketzade Medresesi Street in Galata, where it once accompanied the eastern gate of Galata New Mosque (Figure 5.10b and Figure 6.3).

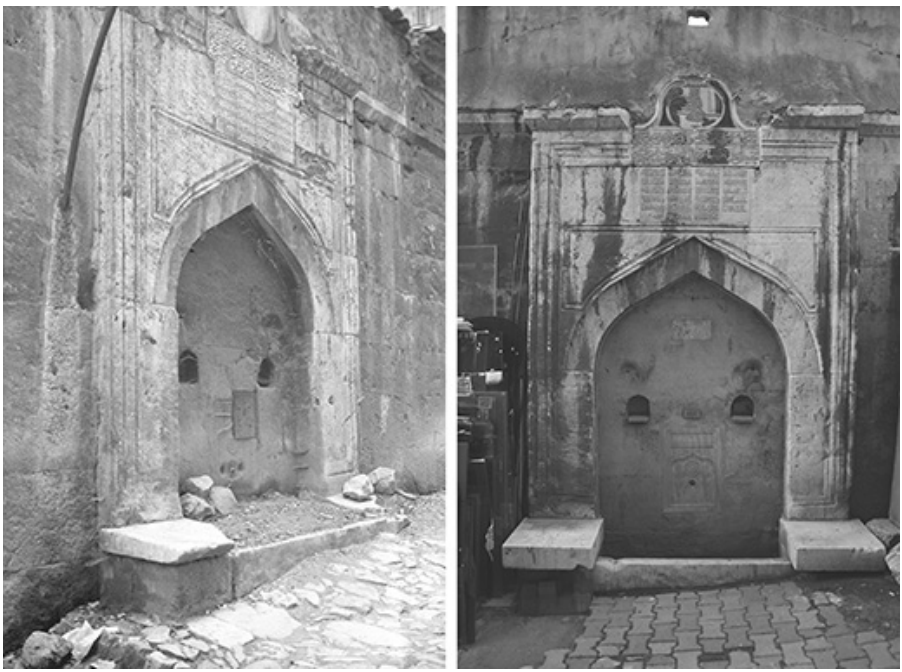


Figure 6.3 The second fountain attached to the courtyard walls of Galata New Mosque: left, in the 1930s (courtesy of Istanbul Archaeological Museum Encümen Archive); right, in the present day (author's photograph, 2012).

As outlined above, this fountain was a result of the extra water flowing into Galata after the construction of new waterways. The fountain itself bares similarities to those shown on the fountain in the Emekyemez neighbourhood: thus, this structure has a simple façade articulation and is on a modest scale, with a height of 3.09 m and a width of 2.45 m. This, once again, attests to the fact that it was a surplus of a larger-scale construction, where the cost of one visible fountain was just a fraction of the total expenditure, the results of most of which lay underground in the invisible but extremely costly waterways. Once the water had been brought to the area, building a new fountain was easy. In fact, Kethüda proposed to build a further fountain in a convenient corner of Galata in addition to the already-

existing three fountains, if the water should stay in that level of abundance the following year.[29]

The sweet water brought from the wells did indeed continue to flow abundantly and two more fountains in Galata were supplied with sweet water in 1708. One of them was built on the shore of the Golden Horne, in front of the Yağkapanı Gate of Galata walls, and the other was built near Galata Palace (*Galatasarayı*) in the Cameşur Hasan Neighbourhood, together with their water reservoirs. The construction cost a total of 385.960 *akçe*s, and according to a building register which was dated to 21 May 1708, 223.280 *akçe*s of it – almost two thirds – was taken up by the cost of digging waterways in Beyoğlu.[30] Around this time Kethüda sent another letter to Gülnuş Sultan detailing this construction and announcing that she had now five fountains in Galata, all of which supplied by an abundant flow of water, and that even in year of draught and while all other fountains in Galata has dried, hers were continuing to flow.[31] This was a great achievement for the Valide Sultan.

One of those fountains appears under a different name today, an inscription panel dating its construction to 1732 (AH 1145); another has disappeared entirely, along with its neighbourhood 'Cameşur Hasan Mahallesi'. In the depicted location at Yağkapanı, a functionless and partly buried fountain now stands (Figure 6.4) and the poem in its inscription refers to Verdinaz Kadın as its benefactor, the fifth-favourite of Mahmud I. It was Mahmud I who constructed the Taksim waterways in 1732 supplying many of the fountains in Galata and Pera, including all the other fountains of Gülnuş Sultan, with water brought from the Belgrad Forest in northern Istanbul.[32] Despite the inscription, as we have seen from the documents, this fountain must have firstly been built by Gülnuş Sultan, but later it apparently was renamed when its water began to be supplied by a more consistent source – the Taksim waterways. It's likely that a part of these waterways were sponsored by Verdinaz Kadın. Its modest articulation with a pointed arched niche and lack of decorative elements other than mouldings, resemble the two fountains of Gülnuş Sultan previously discussed. The modest decoration also adds weight to its attribution to Gülnuş Sultan as most of the fountains built in or around 1732 had ornate façades with novel decorative elements.



Figure 6.4 The fountain in Yağkapanı, which used to be known as Verdinaz Kadın Fountain due to its inscription panel dated to 1732, probably referring to a later renewal (author's photograph, 2016).

Be that as it may, Gülnuş Sultan was the first Ottoman dignitary to bring sweet water to Galata and she spent a fortune greater than the cost of the Galata New Mosque itself in order to build the five

fountains and their supplying waterways between 1698 and 1708. As the abovementioned documents have clearly showed, she was determined to supply sweet water to the residents of this neighbourhood, which had perhaps captured her sympathy as a result of her increased attention to the needs of new Muslim dwellers drawn towards her newly built mosque. This act of hers could well be interpreted as another dimension of Islamization of the neighbourhood, or a new stage in the religious transformation she initiated by the replacement of San Francesco Church with the Galata New Mosque. Nevertheless, those fountains must have been appreciated by both new Muslim inhabitants and already settled non-Muslims. Water in this period and in this area was particularly precious; we can imagine that the reputation of Gülnuş Sultan was much enhanced by this particular aspect of her philanthropy.

Water Structures Elsewhere

Gülnuş Sultan was probably well aware that providing fresh flowing water from a fountain to a loyal and pious population was in many ways as precious a way to practice one's faith as building a mosque. Moreover, she would have also known that the significance of such efforts would be recognized and appreciated by her subjects. In the process of gaining a reputation as a pious and benevolent sultana, she not only poured money into pouring water from fountains in Edirne and Galata, she also embarked similar building activities elsewhere. As seen in Chapter 3, a fountain was built by Kethüda Mehmed Efendi in the name of Gülnuş Sultan in Chios while the waterways of her mosque were being repaired. A fountain with a prayer platform was built next to Yalakabad Bridge, as seen in Chapter 4, and as will be seen in Chapter 7, the mosque complex in Üsküdar was also accompanied by two fountains.

She also financed the repair of 13 fountains, an ablution fountain of a mosque, a water dispenser (*sebil*) and their supplying waterways in Menemen, a town near İzmir. All these were water structures which had fallen into disrepair with the result that the residents of the town were suffering from an acute water shortage. Accordingly, by her order, a total of 22,400 *arşın*s (approximately 16 km) of waterways were constructed all the way from the source in İshak Pınarı to Menemen. Similarly, a total of 15 fountains in Menemen were repaired with a total cost of 6365 *guruş* (763,800 *akçes*).[33] According to an archival document, the construction of the waterways and the repairs in Menemen were carried out in AH 1112 (1710/11).[34]

Why did Gülnuş Sultan focus her repairs on Menemen? The answer

for this question could be to do with the existence of various income-generating properties she had access to in this town[35] and perhaps a wish to reward the town's residents, since they were the ones who worked on her fields to produce the goods to support her waqfs. Unfortunately, it is hard to locate those 15 fountains in today's Menemen, which has substantially changed in the process of transforming into a modern city. However, the water dispenser next to Taşhan in the old town bears an inscription dating to AH 1029 (1619/20) and it is therefore possible to surmise that this could be the one that was repaired by Gülnuş Sultan.

Another water structure repaired by Gülnuş Sultan was a public bath located in Anadoluhisarı, a suburb of Istanbul on the shore of Bosphorus. It had been built by another Ottoman benefactress, Yasemin Hatun, around 1559 in order to finance the operation of a primary school built by the same patron in the vicinity, and was commonly known as *Anadoluhisarı Hamamı*.[36] This double bath does not exist anymore, but details of an extensive repair ordered by Gülnuş Sultan, which took place in AH 1115 (1713/14), can be traced thanks to an archival document.[37] Together with the waterways of the bath, its private rooms (*halvet*), changing room (*câmekan*), furnace (*külhan*), doors and roofing were repaired and renovated for a total cost of 94,296 *akçe*s.

Yet another water structure repaired by Gülnuş Sultan was the waterway system of Vani Mehmed Efendi's mosque, madrasa and soup kitchen in Kestel, Bursa.[38] The waterways had fallen into disrepair with the passing of time, and the inhabitants of that neighbourhood, the attendants of the mosque, the students of the madrasa as well as the passersby were in need of water. Gülnuş Sultan again financed the repairs at a cost of 1097 *guruş*. It is clear from the archive that Vani Mehmed Efendi was an important religious figure in both Mehmed IV's and Gülnuş Sultan's life, and her decision to meet the cost of these repairs to the Bursa waterways herself could be interpreted as an act of religious devotion to the deceased spiritual leader who had influenced both her and her son. Moreover, this act of piety would doubtless have been gratefully received by the Muslims of Bursa, who must have prayed for the health of the Queen Mother who had bestowed such beneficence on them by replenishing the flow of fresh running water.

* * *

All in all, Gülnuş Sultan was clearly an important patron of fresh water fountains, which served a wider part of society – men, women, children, Muslims and non-Muslims – than perhaps her other projects.

In that sense, these construction works could be understood as public works, and they were perhaps able to elevate her name and enhance her public reputation even more than her mosque-building ventures. The significance of these activities is highlighted further when we remember that adequate water supply was a major problem in many cities of Ottoman Empire, with Istanbul facing the biggest challenges. In total, she built 8 fountains (5 in Galata, 2 in Üsküdar and 1 in Chios), 2 fountains with prayer hall (1 in Edirne and 1 by Yalakabad Bridge) and financed the repair of 17 fountains (2 in Edirne and 15 in Menemen). They come to an astonishing 27 fountains, which shows the importance that she gave to this type of patronage, and hints towards the substantial increase in fountain-building that came about in the eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire.[39]

Although fountains seem simple and easy-to-build structures at first glance, the real difficulty of their construction, and the main expenditure, was the construction of the unseen underground waterways, as we have seen. In fact, building a fountain was an easy task once its waterway had been dug in order to bring water from faraway sources. Indeed, once a good supply was established, fountains could be easily and cost-effectively erected, as we see with the second and third fountains built by Gülnuş Sultan in Galata. In other words, Gülnuş Sultan prioritized the infrastructure – she first built the waterways, and then provided more access points once a surplus had been found.

Comparing the costs of building a waterway with building a mosque gives an important insight about the significance of this pious act. As seen above, the new waterways for bringing sweet water to Galata had cost more than the construction cost of the Galata New Mosque. Invisible underground waterways, therefore, form a large proportion of Gülnuş Sultan's patronage legacy; the result of such investment, moreover, is incalculable in terms of the improvements in terms of the improvement to her subjects' quality of life, the health and sanitation that access to fresh running water can bring. Of course, Gülnuş Sultan probably enjoyed gratitude and prestige from these projects which sought to improve the lives of her son's subjects. It was perhaps this combination of life-changing significance, efficacy and reward in the court of public opinion that contributed to Gülnuş Sultan's enthusiasm for bringing drinkable sweet waters to Galata, Edirne and beyond.

CHAPTER 7

MAGNUM OPUS: ÜSKÜDAR YENİ VALİDE COMPLEX

Towards the end of her life, as she was approaching her seventies and enjoying Ahmed III's, the second of her sons', reign, Gülnuş Sultan ordered the construction of her magnum opus: an imperial mosque complex on the shores of Üsküdar. This second mosque complex was to be grand, unlike her modest mosque in Galata: a central courtyard mosque with a large and lofty central dome and twin minarets, each adorned with two decorative external galleries (balconies), a sultan's pavillion, a soup kitchen, a primary school, nine shops, two fountains, a water dispenser, a tomb keeper's room and, in preparation for when the time came, her tomb. Her plan was to construct her eternal resting place, a tranquil corner of the imperial city where she could lie in peace, surrounded by buildings which she herself had brought into being and within earshot of the prayers of thanks for her benevolence which would surely resound within the walls of the mosque for generations. The mosque still stands as a central landmark of today's Üsküdar, the Yeni Valide Mosque Complex.

By 1708, when she embarked on this enterprise, it had already been ten years since the completion of her mosque in Galata, and a marked change in Gülnuş Sultan's architectural vision had taken place. This was a more self-confident Valide Sultan, enjoying the enhanced political stability that her second son's early reign brought. Whereas at the beginning of Mustafa II's reign she had been cautious of building on a large-scale and hesitant of drawing public opprobrium by building lavishly, here she is bold, confident and innovative, an altogether more established Valide Sultan. Galata New Mosque and Üsküdar Yeni Valide Mosque stood as evidence of two decidedly different historical moments. Moreover, the Üsküdar Complex also demonstrates the very first novelties of a new era of Ottoman architecture. A beautiful example of Ottoman imperial architecture, the Yeni Valide Mosque deserves extensive attention; therefore, let us cross to the other shore of the Bosphorus in order to investigate Gülnuş Sultan's masterpiece in Üsküdar.

The History of Üsküdar Yeni Valide Complex

Why did Gülnuş Sultan choose Üsküdar for her mosque complex? We can begin to answer this question only be speculating: perhaps one answer to this question could be the lack of available space for building a substantial mosque complex on the Historic Peninsula, where previous imperial mosques had already filled up the hilltops and shoreline. Üsküdar, too, was growing in significance as an important adjunct of the imperial city: French traveller Olivier, for example, who visited Istanbul in 1790, describes the neighbourhood thus: 'Üsküdar, sitting on an inclined terrain on the opposite shore of Bosphorus like an amphitheatre, serves as a storehouse for Asian caravans, forms a meeting and transfer point, and has an extensive commerce network with Anatolia and Constantinople.'[1] Moreover, it was anything but bereft of its own impressive architecture, many examples of which had their own connection to royal women. Again, we might conjecture that precisely because there were several other mosque complexes built by previous Ottoman royal women, and Gülnuş Sultan wanted to pursue a tradition from old, and prosperous, times.

Indeed, it can easily be argued that Üsküdar had become the headquarters of Ottoman sultanas' mosque complexes with constructions in the name of Gülfem Hatun (1539–40), Mihrimah Sultan (1543–8), Nurbanu Sultan (1570–83) and Kösem Sultan (1640–2). A lesser-known wife of Süleyman the Magnificient's, Gülfem, and his daughter Mihrimah, who was also the daughter of his favourite wife, Hürrem, had adorned the shoreline with two precious complexes close to Üsküdar pier, which welcomed passengers approaching the town by sea. Later, Selim II's wife Nurbanu, Murat III's mother, extended the borders of Üsküdar eastwards with her vast complex on the hill behind the town. This monumental structure became the last stop for travellers passing through Istanbul and the first stop for those venturing into Anatolia. Finally, Kösem, mother of Murad IV and İbrahim I, gave her name to a modest mosque further east, and gave the final shape to the town.

In fact, the question of location is answered within Gülnuş Sultan's own testimony. Composed in AH 1119 (1707/8), approximately a year before the start of construction, Gülnuş Sultan states:

> Let my resting place be in Üsküdar, close to Divitçizade, and let there be a tomb upon it, a reticulated one with an open top. Let there be a madrasa for reciting Qur'an on one side of my tomb and a soup kitchen for distributing free meals on the other side. Every Friday and Monday evening rice and

> *zerde* [a rice desert] should be distributed in the soup kitchen, and every Friday and Monday evening the whole of the Qur'an should be recited and bestowed to my soul […][2]

Divitçizade, the son of Divitçi (the inkwell-maker) Sheikh Mustafa Çelebi, was otherwise known as Tâlib Mehmed Efendi, and he was a famed follower of Aziz Mahmud Hüdâî. He was the sheikh of the Hüdâî dervish lodge of the Celvetî order between AH 1078 and AH 1090 (1667/8 and 1679)[3] and had been buried in a tomb in his father's mosque, that of Şeyh Mustafa Devâtî Efendi.[4] Perhaps this sheikh may have been influential in Gülnuş Sultan's religious beliefs in her later life, hence her desire to be buried close to him. Howsoever this may be, the location of her burial place in turn designated the location of the mosque complex, which, on completion, fulfilled those wishes she had outlined in her testament.[5]

The register specifying the borders of Gülnuş Sultan's income-generating properties for the Üsküdar Complex also testifies to her intention that her burial place had defined the location of the complex by mentioning the building as 'the mosque, which was built on the site of her tomb located in Üsküdar near Zincirlikuyu'.[6] Further, a pamphlet outlining the construction of the complex informs us that 'the pioneer of the sultans, having assigned Üsküdar as the location of her tomb, decided to add a mosque, a soup kitchen and a water dispenser to it in order to prepare herself for the judgement day.'[7] Behind the decision to be buried in Üsküdar, the anonymous composer of the pamphlet argues, is that although many Muslims would wish to die and be buried in the Holy Lands, close to their prophet, those who did not have the opportunity to make the pilgrimage would wish to be buried in Üsküdar, which can be counted as amongst the Holy Lands, as no sea or river separates it from Mecca and Medina.

Undoubtedly, Üsküdar was an attractive spot for an imperial mosque complex, a fact attested to by those previous Ottoman royal women who had built their mosques there. Üsküdar was a populous district thanks to its position on the Asian side of Bosphorus, a busy hub for travellers, merchants, pilgrims as well as its residents, all of whom using the sea transportation to and from the landing station, which marked the end point of the European routes and the starting point of the land routes through Anatolia. By placing her complex close to the Balaban landing station, Gülnuş Sultan guaranteed an abundance of worshippers and beneficiaries and, of course, increased the potential number of prayers that would be bestowed upon her soul by passersby. Moreover, in choosing such a busy thoroughfare, she also legitimized the construction of another vast complex, nestled up against previously built and established mosques, where the need for a

further mosque could be questioned by Sharia law.[8] The proximity of the complex to the sea also maximized its visibility, both for those approaching Üsküdar by boat and for those on the European shore looking over the Bosphorus towards Asia. Today it still captures the eye easily, its dome and minarets forming an indispensable part of Üsküdar's skyline. Built on a streambed, where a valley broadens and flattens out towards the shoreline, no hills appear behind it, and it stands tall among the low-lying buildings that make up the hustle and bustle of the busy waterfront (Figure 7.1).

How was it that such an attractive place in an ancient neighbourhood remained undeveloped at the beginning of eighteenth century, then? In fact, the site of the complex, located in the heart of crowded Üsküdar, was not vacant. As can be seen in a version of Piri Reis' Istanbul map, at the end of the seventeenth century the site was already surrounded by four mosques – those of Mihrimah Sultan, Rum Mehmed Pasha, Şemsi Ahmed Pasha and Gülfem Hatun – and the area was already densely filled by houses or, perhaps shops, that ran behind a long, hipped-roofed building, as what was probably the *arasta*, that is, the bazaar (Figure 7.2). At the time of the construction, Gülnuş Sultan would have had to demolish those already-existing buildings, most of which were income-generating properties, probably shops or houses of other waqfs, before she would have been able to lay foundations. The waqfiyya of Gülnuş Sultan stipulated the yearly fees to be paid to those previous waqfs, a record which makes clear for us the fact that there were buildings previously located at the site.[9]



Figure 7.1 Üsküdar's Yeni Valide Mosque with Balaban landing

station on the right, in a photograph dated to 1959 (© German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul).

Expropriations were made in the neighbourhood of Zincirlikuyu in Üsküdar and the adequate land for the construction of the complex was acquired with the landowners' free will, and they were remunerated accordingly.[10] These expropriations remind us of the acquisitions made prior to the building of Galata New Mosque, or indeed Eminönü New Mosque. However, they differed in one important social aspect from those two previous examples in that they did not subsume non-Muslim lands; by contrast, all of the lands were bought from Muslim waqfs. By way of example, one portion of the lands to be expropriated was a tannery belonging to the waqf of Safiye Sultan; plans were made for the continuance of their business with both the tanners and the animal skins to be moved to a newly built tannery on another area of land belonging to Gülnuş Sultan in the nearby Rum Mehmed Pasha neighbourhood. The record tells us that tenants of the tannery left their land of their own free will and handed over the land asset to the trusteeship of Gülnuş Sultan's waqf.[11]



Figure 7.2 The detail of Üsküdar from the Istanbul map in a version of Piri Reis' Kitab-ı Bahriye, which could be dated to 1670–1700. Gülnuş Sultan's future complex's place is indicated with the white circle by the author while other important buildings are labelled as

follows: 1. Mihrimah Sultan Complex at Üsküdar Landing Station, 2. Şemsi Ahmed Pasha complex, 3. Rum Mehmed Pasha Complex, 4. Mihrimah Sultan Palace, 5. Salacak Landing Station, 6. Kavak Landing Station, 7. Ayazma Garden, 8. Üsküdar Palace (after Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* [London: Reaktion Books, 2005], p. 298).

Once the necessary expropriations had been completed, the construction of the mosque started on the land designated by the plan drawn up by Gülnuş Sultan's architects.[12] Since the site was close to sea and on a streambed, great attention was paid to the foundation excavations and the groundbreaking process. On 4 August 1708, removal of the soil from the site started. After that, 30,000 piles, 5.25 m long each, were driven deep into the foundation, probably below the groundwater level. After three months of sub-ground-level work, the first stone was laid upon the foundation of the complex on 7 November 1708. The contemporary chronicler Silahdar Mehmed Ağa describes the ceremony as follows:

> Gülnuş *Valide* Sultan, the mother of the sovereign, had decided to build a mosque in Zincirlikuyu, near Üsküdar pier. Its foundation was dug out, piles were driven, and construction materials were gathered. Therefore, on Wednesday 23 Şaban, with the directive of the sovereign, viziers, sheikhs, mullahs and other notables came to construction site altogether. After the prayer of Sultan Bayezid's sheikh Yenibahçeli Ahmed Efendi, the Cadi of Üsküdar *Müneccimbaşı* [Chief Court Astrologer] Mehmed Efendi put the first mortar into the foundation. However, since Valide Sultan had nominated her son, the sovereign, as her placeholder, the task of laying the first stone would have suited him. The previous sovereigns and viziers had accustomed to do so, but the present viziers, devoid of knowledge of history, could obviously act like this. After the ceremony, the invitees went to Ayazma Palace altogether, participated in the banquet offered by Valide Sultan, then left.[13]

Once the foundations were laid, the construction of the mosque and subsidiary buildings made swift progress. There were a total of 550 workers, including stonemasons, labourers, carpenters and others, each of whom had received a purse of *akçe* after the foundation ceremony. The records show the workers were paid regularly, as Kethüda Mehmed Efendi asked Gülnuş Sultan for a similar financial incentive for the workers when the building reached the height of the

first windows' arches.[14] In January 1709, an imperial verdict was issued in order to collect marble-cutters from around Edirne and employ them in marble extraction on Marmara Island, where the stones of the mosque were being cut and the number of cutters already there was inadequate to supply the demand.[15]

The construction site was to be inspected by statesmen when the building reached an important phase: on 7 June 1709, just after the tomb and water dispenser of the complex had been completed, the sultan visited the construction site with the Sheikh-al-Islam and examined the newly built elements, as well as the progress made on the mosque, the interior walls of which had by that stage reached the level of grand arches. Later, when those arches and the portico around the inner courtyard had been completed, the grand vizier and high-ranking viziers were appointed by the sultan to inspect the building, which they did on 10 May 1710. Finally, when the dome of the mosque was covered with lead and the plastering of the interiors had started, Grand Vizier Baltacı Mehmed Pasha, Shaikh al-Islam Seyyid Ali Efendi and other viziers visited the building for inspection on 19 October 1710.[16] When all parts of the complex except the soup kitchen were complete, Gülnuş Sultan herself visited the site. On that occasion, Kethüda Mehmed Efendi claimed that the construction of the soup kitchen would be completed soon and that, on completion, food would be distributed to the poor of the neighbourhood in the name of her highness.[17]

Kethüda Mehmed Efendi kept Gülnuş Sultan well informed about the progress of the construction in his letters addressed to her, supplying her with details and timelines about the completion schedule: ‘First the tomb, water dispenser and one of the fountains were completed. The grand arches are about to be finished, the domes of the inner courtyard and minarets are half-finished, the primary school and the soup kitchen is still under-construction and I ordered the carpets and other decorations for the interior of the mosque. Most of it is over, the end is near […]’ He also supplied her with financial summaries in those letters: ‘[…] A total of 500 purses and 125 *guruş* have been consumed for the waterways, construction land, and the building materials. Less will be consumed from now on. I didn't want to mention it before, because of the public rumours whether it will cost 1500 purses or 1000 purses […]’[18]

Gülnuş Sultan was, in fact, consuming a great deal of money in the process of constructing her magnum opus. To meet the financial costs, she used her stipend, and income from her properties, but even then she still had to borrow, in all likelihood, from her son Ahmed III and her daughter Hatice Sultan, as a record of the sources that she took for

her consumptions reveal: 'I previously gave 150 purses from my own money, loan of 250 purses from the money of the sultans, once more from my own goods 80 purses of *akçe*, once more 40 purses *akçe*, 100 purses from harem [stipend], once more from harem [stipend] 100 purses, from Hatice Sultan 20 purses.'[19] All this amounted to 740 purses and she had to pay the remaining expenses for the complex – 106 purses and 385.5 *guruş* – from the income of her properties in the year AH 1123 [1711/12].[20] All in all, according to a note probably written on top of the building register, she used 846 purses and 131 *guruş*, a sum almost equal to that of the abovementioned amounts.[21]

Sultan Ahmed ordered for an early inauguration of the mosque in 1711, before construction was fully finished, since the army was preparing to depart for a campaign against Russia. The royal pavilion, the arcaded courtyard and the courtyard walls were completed by the inauguration date, though parts of the ablution fountain, the doors' canopy and the soup kitchen remained to be finished. In order to prepare for the royal opening, the interior, exterior and surroundings of the mosque were smartened up and the interior was covered with beautiful carpets. Gülnuş Sultan left İstanbul for Üsküdar on 5 March 1711, and was followed by her son in the afternoon; thus began the preparations for the opening ceremony.[22]

On the following day, 6 March 1711 [AH 16 Muharrem 1123], Ahmed III inaugurated the complex with the Friday prayer, and the public flooded into the interior and exterior of the mosque and out into the streets around it. After the prayer, Grand Vizier Baltacı Mehmed Pasha, Sheikh-al-Islam Seyyid Ali Efendi, the court viziers and Gülnuş Sultan's chamberlain Kethüda Mehmed Efendi were given gifts, along with the overseer of the construction Abdülvahap Ağa. The next day, the roads and the houses between Ayazma Garden Palace and the mosque were closed and the mosque was cleansed with incense, and on Sunday, 8 March 1711, Gülnuş Sultan went to her mosque and spent two hours there, praying and reciting the Qur'an within the walls of her masterpiece. The unfinished parts of the mosque, the ablution fountain and the soup kitchen were completed in May 1711, and the whole construction process took a total of 34 months and three days.[23]

Unlike the Galata New Mosque, Üsküdar benefited from well-established water supplies and the waterways of the mosque were constructed well before the inauguration, probably sometime in 1709, around the time that the fountains, water dispenser and ablution fountains were complete.[24] The source of the waterways was in Validebağ[25], to the east of Üsküdar, and the water was channelled through Seyyid Ahmed Deresi and across Karacaahmet Cemetery,

before reaching a junction in İnadiye and followed a path through constructed pipes until it reached the complex.[26] The landowners in Seyyid Ahmed Deresi and Kavakdere, who had fields and vineyards that the waterways passed through, were paid a total of 315.5 *guruş* in compensation for any losses.[27] Nevertheless, it was soon realized that the volume of water supplying the complex was insufficient and, in 1714, Ahmed III issued a royal decree that two *masura*s of water from a source in Çamlıca should be conveyed to the site.[28] The construction took place between 5 November 1714 and 11 November 1715, and it cost a total of 26,141 *guruş*, including the materials, workmanship and the money paid to the owners of the fields and gardens along the watercourse.[29]

Although the name of the architect of the Üsküdar complex does not appear in the available archival documents, the building is generally attributed to Kayserili Mehmed Ağa, who is thought to have been the chief royal architect of the time.[30] Other sources do point to different names as chief royal architect during the construction period of the complex,[31] and there remains ambiguity about the architect of the complex. Until hitherto unseen archival documents come to light, it is almost impossible to identify the chief architect. Nevertheless, the architecture of the complex, which is both simultaneously in keeping with classical Ottoman style and signalling architectural innovation in its details and in its totality, certainly deserves closer inspection.

The Architecture of Üsküdar Yeni Valide Complex

The layout of Üsküdar Yeni Valide Complex pursues the classical idiom of Ottoman architecture with an orthogonal placement of its elements, but also gives an impression of organic evolution determined by the limits of the construction site, which had been made available only through the purchase of other waqfs. The mosque sits in the centre of the site, surrounded by other minor elements: the royal pavilion, fountains, the water dispenser and Gülnuş Sultan's tomb lie to the east; a burial area and cistern to the south-east; toilets, the primary school and shops lie to the north-west. The soup kitchen and two more shops were placed yet further north-west and were separated from the rest of the complex by the street. The main entrance of the complex is through a grand vestibule, over which runs the upper storey of the primary school, and opens onto Balaban Sokak, leading directly to the Balaban landing station. The layout thus offers an impressive view of the mosque for those approaching it via this street. The outer courtyard walls of the complex are tiered with iron grille windows, and four other gates provide access, each bearing

the name of the streets onto which they open[32] (Figure 7.3).

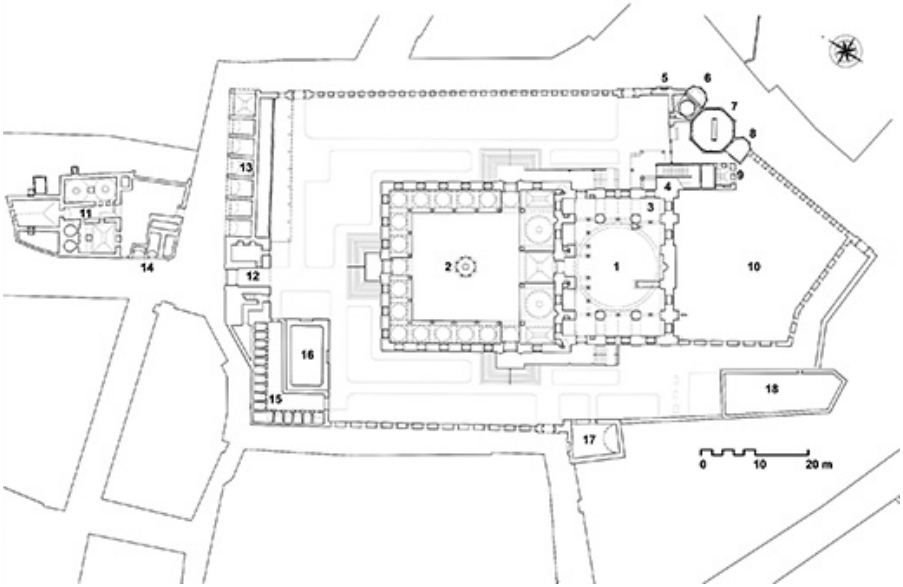


Figure 7.3 The layout plan of Üsküdar Yeni Valide Complex: 1. mosque, 2. inner courtyard, 3. royal platform, 4. royal pavilion (rebuilt in the nineteenth century), 5. eastern fountain, 6. water dispenser, 7. Gülnuş Sultan's tomb, 8. timekeeper's place (built in the nineteenth century), 9. tomb-keeper's room, 10. burial area, 11. soup kitchen, 12. primary school (above the main gate of the complex), 13. shops, 14. two shops adjacent to the soup kitchen, 15. toilets, 16. firefighting pool, 17. western fountain and its water reservoir, 18. cistern (redrawn by Erkan Torun and Civan Bozova by using the plan obtained from Üsküdar Vakıflar Bölge Müdürlüğü, Istanbul).

The grandest element of the complex is of course the mosque itself, which crowns the whole site. The mosque sits in royal state within the walls, elevated on a platform which is ascended via marble staircases which lead to its doors. The mosque itself announces its royal character with a large dome flanked by twin minarets, each with two galleries from which the muezzin could call the prayer. Clearly, its architectural styles deviate sharply from that of its namesake in Galata. At first glance, it perpetuates the classical mosque articulation crystalized by Architect Sinan; Ottoman architectural historians largely agree on this.[33] However, it bears several interesting innovations if its details, ornamentation and ratios are closely inspected, and it does hint at an imminent change in Istanbul's architectural traditions (Plate 9).

The plan type of the mosque is based on an octagonal baldachin,

and mimics almost exactly a famous Sinan piece in the old city, Rüstem Pasha Mosque; some 150 years on, the Yeni Valide Mosque revisits the octagonal plan variations of the legendary architect for the first time. The dome rests on eight arches which connect to eight pillars, four of which are hidden inside the kiblah and ante-kiblah walls, and four of which stand freely, forming a boundary between the lateral and main prayer hall. Four squinches on four corners ease the transition from the square of the main prayer hall firstly into an octagon, and then pendentives lead into the circle of the dome. The square of the main prayer hall is stretched into a rectangle by the lateral prayer halls, each of which is covered with a groined (cross) vault and flanked by elliptical domes. The lateral prayer halls are divided into two levels with a gallery circulating the perimeter of the main prayer hall on three sides (Plate 10).

The inner courtyard of the mosque, a marble-floored rectangular space circumscribing a dome-covered arcade which surrounds an octagonal ablution fountain,[34] is, very unusually, larger than the prayer hall. The portico, the place set aside for late-coming worshippers, is capped with three large domes, which are in turn flanked by two vaults raised on a platform. When compared to the rest of the courtyard arcade, the portico is raised and has only five openings, which is quite uncommon for an imperial mosque.[35] This creates a vertical emphasis and a sense of loftiness, which is further enhanced by the main portal of the mosque. The portal dispenses with the traditional muqarnas niche, an ornate and intricate vaulting feature common to many entrances in classical Ottoman mosque architecture, and instead features an exceptionally long inscription panel, twelve rows by four columns of devotional poetry composed by Osmanzade Taib.[36] Innovatively, the muqarnas are saved for the door frame, which encases both the large inscription panel above and the door below (Figure 7.4). This deviation from the canonical portal decoration implies an impetus for architectural change within imperial mosque-building culture.[37]

The aforementioned emphasis on height and the vertical dimensions inside the mosque is also observed on the exterior, enhanced with the help of the higher pointed arches of the portico and even those above the windows and doors. In other words, in this architectural design, heights stretch tall in contrast to widths. Thus, together with the increased height of the pillars and columns of the interior, the keystone of the dome of the mosque rises to 24.7 m while its diameter stays moderate at 14.9 m.[38]

This same vertical thrust can be observed in the upper structure of the mosque, especially in the high drum of the dome and thin weight

turrets surrounding it. The increased height of the drum elicits the impression of depressed dome, although the dome is a half sphere and thus similar to previous Ottoman domes.[39] The proportions of the double-galleried minarets also reinforce the mosque's lofty appearance: whereas the minaret galleries of other classical mosques usually correspond to the finials above the dome at the second or third tier, here it is the first gallery that corresponds to the level of the finial, leaving the upper echelons of the minaret stretching into the sky.



Figure 7.4 The main portal and portico of Üsküdar Yeni Valide Mosque in a Sebah & Joallier photo dating from late nineteenth century (courtesy of Istanbul Atatürk Library).

The interior of the mosque, illuminated with five bands of windows up to the drum level, is now decorated with red, black and white *kalemişi* (hand drawn) paintings of palmettes, flowers and foliage, mostly in circular form and at the borders of arches. It is highly probable that this decoration is original, since photographs from late nineteenth and early twentieth century also show the same patterns. Muqarnas decoration is also applied both as a transitional element and as a means of decoration, and this enhances the 'classical' appearance of the mosque. Similarly the mihrab and minbar also feature rich muqarnas decoration as well as other classical decorative elements

such as geometric designs, palmettes and arabesque motifs (Figure 7.5). Yet, the limited tile-use around the mihrab and their green-blue colour tones, rather than the deeper blue of the traditional İznik tiles, represent a sharp deviation from the opulent tile-work in three imperial mosques of seventeenth century.[40] This seemingly negligible detail in fact signifies a dramatic shift in Ottoman architectural tradition: from this time onward, tile-work was largely relinquished in Ottoman imperial mosques, tombs or palaces.

Calligraphy was also used sparingly in the interior decoration of the mosque, perhaps a consequence of the limited use of tiles, which previously had been the Ottoman's preferred surface for displays of decorative calligraphy. One of the three calligraphy panels which hung between the pillars above the galleries on the southwest wing read ‘Paradise lies at the feet of the mother’, a well-known hadith of Prophet Muhammed. The use of this particular hadith in praise of matriarchy within mosque decoration is rare, although the nod to the essential spirituality of the mother–child relationship could of course easily be linked to the patron of the mosque, the mother of the reigning Sultan Ahmed III. Other Qur'anic verses and the names of the caliphs of the Prophet adorn the stained glass windows on the kiblah wall.



Figure 7.5 The interior of the mosque towards kiblah wall in a late nineteenth-century photograph: mihrab niche surrounded with tiles, minbar on the right, and piece of the Kaaba quilt (since stolen) on the left (Abdülhamid II Albums, courtesy of Library of Congress).

The most decorated part of the interior is obviously the sultan's platform, located in the southeast corner of the gallery level, to the left of the mihrab. Separated from the rest of the gallery with a wooden screen and from the main prayer hall with a lattice, the sultan's platform's walls, elliptical vault and mihrab are full of red, black, white and gilded *kalemişi* decorations; however, here too there are no tiles, which again marks a break from the canonical tradition of decoration on previous mosques' sultan's platforms. The entrance to

the platform now is via a door; nevertheless, traces of an arch hint towards the former original arched gate, which would have opened from the royal pavilion via the south-west wall of the mosque. Looking at the architectural features, the wooden pavilion we can see below obviously dates from nineteenth century, and was probably the result of an extensive restoration, similar to the rebuilding of Galata New Mosque's pavilion. However, its ashlar substructure – observable from the burial area – and the shorter marble column supporting the stone arch that sits behind three taller wooden columns suggest that an original stone pavilion, probably smaller, used to host the sultan and queen mother (Figure 7.6).

The placement of the royal pavilion, which overlooks and is seen from the crowded Üsküdar bazaar and Üsküdar landing station, proclaims the building's distinctly royal character; this feature alone was enough to make the presence of the sultan or queen mother felt, even in their absence. This privileged position of the pavilion enabled its inhabitants to bestow their 'royal gaze' upon their subjects without being seen by them. Furthermore, such a feature also would have raised the significance of the mosque for a different reason: it offers matchless viewpoints, akin to those offered by the outstanding placement of Eminönü New Mosque's royal pavilion, which enables its visitors to look out over the Eminönü landing station, out to Galata and over to Üsküdar.[41] Its lofty position and proximity to another major landing station on Asian side thus make it landmark for all Istanbulites, from every sect and religion, and in turn conveys the dominance of the royals gazing on them watchfully (Figure 7.7).

The north-east fountain attached between the water dispenser and the royal gate is probably the most distinctive element of the complex, with its innovative design foreseeing the decoration of the Tulip Period. It embellished the façade of the outer courtyard, attracting passersby, and indeed appealing itself to any royal guest, whose entrance to the mosque was just to the right of the fountain via another flamboyant gate leading to the royal pavilion. The fountain's niche is decorated with reliefs of flowers in vases and fruits in baskets, and is capped by a shell motif above a band of muqarnas. The niche and the inscription panel dated to AH 1121 (1709) above it are framed by floral motifs and a row of muqarnas on three sides, crowned by a reverse shell motif and hefty palmettes carved with arabesque designs (Figure 7.8).



Figure 7.6 The royal pavilion of Üsküdar Yeni Valide Mosque, which probably replaced the original pavilion in the nineteenth century. The shorter marble column behind the taller ones supports an ashlar substructure, which was in all likelihood a part of the original pavilion (author's photograph, 2011).

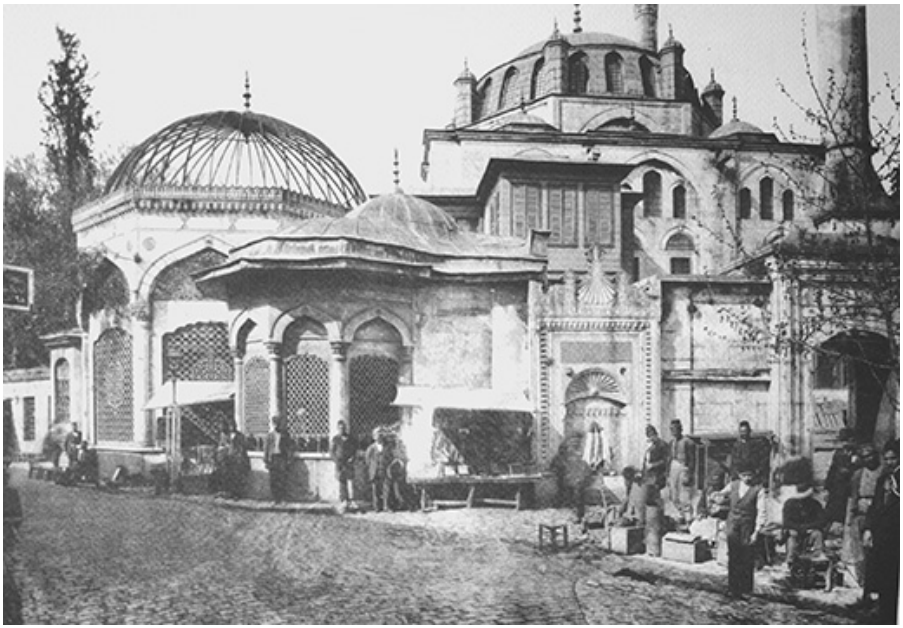


Figure 7.7 Üsküdar Yeni Valide Complex as seen from Üsküdar bazaar in an early twentieth-century photograph. The mosque and the royal pavilion in the background; the royal gate, the fountain, the water dispenser, the tomb and the timekeeper's place in the foreground, from right to left (after Cornelius Gurlitt, *İstanbul'un Mimari Sanatı* [Ankara: Enformasyon ve Dokümantasyon Hizmetleri Vakfı, 1999], plate 34a).

These original decorative features would soon become the new fashion for fountains and water dispensers, but they were first tested within the complex of Gülnuş Sultan. In fact, the shell motif on top of the niche had been used a year earlier in the fountain of Gülnuş Sultan's chamberlain Kethüda Mehmed Ağa.[42] Likewise, naturalistic depictions of fruits and flowers had been incorporated into the decoration of the interior walls of Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha's waterfront residence in Anadoluhisarı in 1699, and in Ahmed III's dining room in Topkapı Palace, well-known today as the Fruit Chamber, in 1705.[43] However, this fountain marked the first time that these new decorative trends had been part of a public work of art, and their first joint public appearance was clearly a conscious attempt to enrich the north-west façade of the complex. By contrast, the south-west fountain, which looks onto a subsidiary street and would naturally have been less observed by people and the nobles visiting the mosque, is devoid of decoration or innovation and carries instead totally classical features such as a pointed-arched niche. This fountain, largely hidden from the public gaze, perpetuates traditional

decoration and sticks to functionality; by contrast, the north-east fountain pioneers a new style.

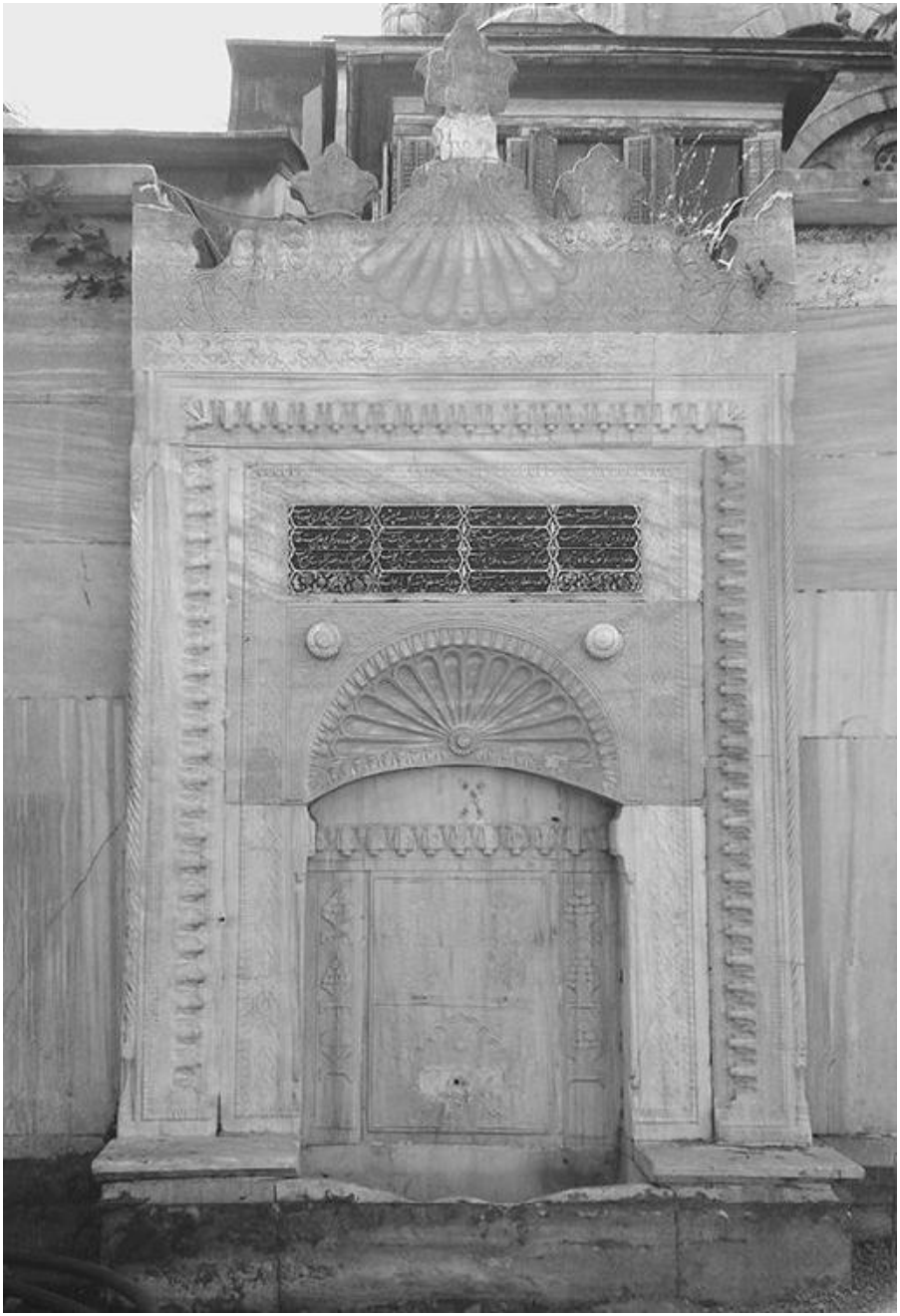


Figure 7.8 The north-east fountain of the complex, with its flamboyant decorative elements (author's photograph, 2014).

The water dispenser of the complex sits between the northeast

fountain and the tomb of Gülnuş Sultan, like an ornate cornerstone on the junction of the two streets (Figure 7.7). It can be perceived from the street as a fan with its five façades separated by columns decorated with modest arabesque motifs and lines of inscription panel dated to AH 1121 (1709); by contrast, its posterior is a plain square covered with a dome carried on blind walls (Figure 7.3). The decorative elements used on the surfaces resemble those used on the ablution fountain in the inner courtyard, and they also repeat the decoration of Eminönü New Mosque's water dispenser and ablution fountain with arabesque motifs, which fill the spandrels and muqarnas decoration adorning the capitals and friezes. The originality of the adjacent fountain has thus not spilled over into the decoration of these two, more traditional, water structures.

The tomb of Gülnuş Sultan, which determined the location of the complex as seen above, is also located to the north-east of the complex, as if the biggest ring in a chain comprising the royal gate, the fountain, the water dispenser and the timekeeper's place. This 'chaining' arrangement reminds the observer of the placement of similar elements within the small-scale complexes of the seventeenth century[44] (Plate 11). However, the tomb itself is extraordinary in its openness and exposure. The passersby and residents of Üsküdar simply walk by this unusually transparent tomb and cannot help but stop and look at this royal resting place; inspired by a vision of the extraordinary within the ordinary, even today, perhaps, some will offer prayers for the deceased queen mother. The unusual design was in accordance with Gülnuş Sultan's wish in her will; reticulated, and with an open top.[45] The overall effect is feathery, opaque and translucent. Perhaps Gülnuş's wish above all was to be remembered by as many people as possible, and so she opted to have a visible and accessible resting place, rather than a bulky mausoleum away from the public and surrounded by walls.

Although there were previous open Ottoman tombs outside Istanbul, the cage-like design of Gülnuş Sultan's tomb was a novelty that would give inspiration to several later tombs.[46] Its octagonal plan reflects the plan of the mosque in microcosm and it features two arches, a pointed arch above a depressed multi-foil arch, on each of the eight façades of the octagon. Without walls, the interiors of the white marble arches between the columns on each corner were originally covered with reticulated bronze grilles. Rather than a covered dome, a dome-like iron lattice forms the upper structure above a muqarnas palmette-lined cornice. The dome is topped by a bronze finial. Thanks to this translucent architecture, light and rainwater perennially penetrates the tomb: thus Gülnuş's desire to

make her resting place a piece of Garden of Eden, as described in the waqfiyya of the complex, was brought one step closer.[47]

The interior of the tomb, reached via a door opened from outer courtyard, also reflects the simplicity of the exterior, but does feature a frieze of Qur'anic verses inscribed above the arches. In the centre lie two tombstones, the headstone and footstone of Gülnuş Sultan, directly placed into the soil. The decoration of the front sides of both tombstones recalls the design of the north-east fountain: a shell motif topped with grand palmettes filled with arabesque carvings above a muqarnas band. The footstone also features a relief of flowers placed in a vase, while the headstone bears the inscription praising Gülnuş Sultan as the mother of Sultan Ahmed III, and hence as preserver of the Ottoman dynasty[48] (Figure 7.9).



Figure 7.9 Interior of Gülnuş Sultan's open-top tomb with her headstone and footstone (author's photograph, 2016).

The hitherto-unidentified or misattributed[49] room behind the tomb, adjacent to the royal pavilion of the complex, was in fact the tomb-keeper's room (Plate 11). Archival evidence shows that in fact it was built to be used by the attendant of Gülnuş Sultan's tomb, but it was also used for the hadith lessons, and hadith books bequeathed for these lessons were also kept in this room.[50] Others bequeathed by Gülnuş Sultan were kept inside the mosque, according to her will.[51] The gate of this tiny rectangular vaulted room looks towards the tomb and is topped with a Qur'anic inscription invoking death and the afterlife. It also features two windows towards the south-west facing the burial place.

The timekeeper's place, located adjacent to and to the south of the tomb, overlooking the street with its basket-handle-arched triple

façade (Plate 11), is, according to the archive, apparently a nineteenth-century building; it is difficult to prove that a former building was present on that site at the time of the original construction. When giving the job definition of the timekeeper, the waqfiyya of the complex defines him as simply a regular of the congregation, and does not mention his place of duty; by contrast, the waqfiyya does mention that of water dispenser attendant, for instance.[52] Therefore, we can assume that this tiny building is a nineteenth-century addition, and not a rebuild.[53]

The primary school, built above the main gate of the courtyard on the north-west wall of the complex, and its lofty appearance enhances the monumentality of the entrance to the complex (Figure 7.10). After entering the courtyard by walking under the vault of the vestibule, a door to the right leads to the primary school via a staircase, while another door to the left opens into the room of the *mahya*[54] keeper, who was responsible for lighting the oil lamps used to illuminate the minarets on religious days. Composed of an entrance hall and a classroom and having alternating bands of ashlar and brick on its walls, the primary school pursues a traditional design. However, its placement is unusual for a primary school and hints towards more novel placings of similar elements in the complexes of the eighteenth century.[55]

Latrines forming an L shape and circumscribing a water repository are located at the eastern corner of the complex, next to primary school; while a cistern occupies the southern corner and a *gasilhane*,[56] a room for the keeping and washing of the dead, stands behind the south-west fountain and the gate of the complex. On the other side of the primary school, towards the northern corner of the complex, 34 ablution fountains line up facing the courtyard of the mosque, while seven shops occupy the posterior. These shops look towards the soup kitchen, and once formed the continuation of the Üsküdar *arasta*[57] (bazaar) seen in old photographs. Each of the unfortunately now poorly transformed shops was originally a barrel-vaulted, rectangular, single-storey unit. The larger corner shop next to the *arasta* gate of the complex was square with a cavetto vault.



Figure 7.10 The primary school of the complex, placed on top of the main entrance to the complex (author's photograph, 2016).

However, the waqfiyya of the complex mentions nine shops rather than seven.[58] The missing two shops, which have so far escaped notice, can actually be spotted across the street, between the soup kitchen and the later fountain of Sineperver Valide Sultan (Figure 7.11). Although now inaccessible and in a state of ruin, their architectural features resemble the other seven shops, and they even provide a glimpse of how they once looked, with their (likely original)

walls of alternating bands of ashlar and brick, which were also used in the neighbouring soup kitchen. In fact, all the buildings located to the northwest of the mosque – the soup kitchen, the shops and the primary school – were made of brick and ashlar, creating a contrast with the marble and ashlar mosque, fountains, water dispenser and tomb. The result was an architectural hierarchy of materials among the elements of the complex.

The waqfiyya also informs us about two nonextant buildings, which were constructed with the complex, but apparently have not survived. Two houses, the first one nearby the mosque and the other adjacent to the south-west fountain and outer courtyard wall, were built on the land of complex in the Gülfem and Gerede neighbourhoods, and were allocated to the primary and secondary imams of the mosque, respectively.[59] Recalling the houses of the imam around Galata New Mosque, those two buildings have disappeared over time and no trace of them can be seen in the area.



Figure 7.11 Two shops of the complex located between the soup kitchen (on the left) and the later fountain of Sineperver Valide Sultan (on the right) (author's photograph, 2013).

The soup kitchen of the complex, which now occupies a large and separate area towards the north-west, was, according to Gülnuş Sultan's testament, one of the earliest buildings she intended to be constructed next to her tomb, although it was completed later than other elements in May 1711 as seen above. Consisting of a kitchen, a bakery, a cellar, a woodshed and a courtyard, likely used for

distributing food, the kitchen employed 34 people and when it first started functioning it served soup and bread twice a day to the complex attendants and up to 500 members of the public[60] (Figure 7.12). With its high chimneys and large domes, this building, almost as much as the mosque, shapes the skyline of Üsküdar to this day, and in the time of the Valide Sultan, would have stood as testament to the charity of Gülnuş Sultan, particularly for the poor and needy of the neighbourhood.



Figure 7.12 The soup kitchen of the complex from the west, with the high chimneys of the kitchen and bakery (author's photograph, 2013).

All in all, the totality of this philanthropic complex, with each element designed for the well-being of the people, without doubt formed the magnum opus of Gülnuş Sultan. At the time of its construction she was close to her death, which eventually came to pass in 1715. It was a building that brought her great reputation and visibility among her subjects, and even today it is this building, rather than the many others she built, which prevents her name from being forgotten. Furthermore, although they have heretofore been underestimated or overlooked, the abovementioned novelties in its design were milestones in Ottoman architecture, and key transitional examples in the development from the classical tradition into the later Tulip Period. The patron of those novelties now rests silently in her tomb, nestled within her ‘masterpiece’, as if she knew this would be her last act.

* * *

Besides constructing two prominent mosque complexes in Istanbul, Gülnuş Sultan also financed the repair of Nasrullah Efendi Mosque in Kastamonu. She ordered the repair of that mosque, which was in a poor condition at that time, as Valide Sultan to Mustafa II.[61] This repair was a response to a request, probably from the residents of Kastamonu, where Gülnuş Sultan had had fiefs as a part of her vast wealth since she was the favourite of Mehmed IV.[62] She was quick to act on the townspeople's request, and the repairs to the mosque and fountains, as well as the inner decoration of the mosque, was completed at a cost of 7037 *guruş* or 851,411 *akçes*.[63] After the repair, the *resm* – plan or view – of the mosque was drawn up and sent to Gülnuş Sultan for her approval, and the residents of the town prayed for Gülnuş Sultan in order to show their gratitude.[64] Together with her imperial mosques in the capital and converted mosques on Ottoman frontiers, repair of this country mosque helped to contribute to her reputation as a benevolent and devout sultana.

PART III

ARCHITECTURAL LEGACY OF OTTOMAN ROYAL WOMEN

CHAPTER 8

BUILDING ACTIVITIES OF OTTOMAN SULTANAS AFTER GÜLNUŞ SULTAN

After Gülnuş Sultan's death in 1715, the Ottoman State embarked upon the last two centuries of its life. This was broadly a period of decline, punctuated with periods of intensive reforms and innovations which attempted to stem the overall bleeding away of power and hegemony. The Ottomans witnessed huge territorial losses, reformations to recover military and economic power and aggressions and uprisings throughout the country which would gradually result in the dissolution of the Empire. Although a peaceful era, known as the Tulip Period, began shortly after the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718, which ended a war with European forces, this time of cross-cultural exchange and luxury consumption came to an abrupt end with the rebellion of Patrona Halil in 1730. The uprising resulted in the deposition of Ahmed III, an event Gülnuş Sultan had worked so hard to avert in her own lifetime. However, the influx of Western modes into the Ottoman world, and their cross-fertilization with the classical Ottoman architectural styles, can be traced to the experimentations of the Tulip Period and this blend of influences continued until the foundation of Turkish Republic in 1923. Taking the Europeans as their model became the new strategy of the Ottomans, not only in military, scientific or political affairs, but also in arts and architecture. The eighteenth century was the century of the Ottoman Baroque, with a fine assimilation of Western styles into classical patterns, while the nineteenth century was the century of eclecticism, just as it was in the rest of Europe.

Gülnuş Sultan herself, therefore, lived in a time of transformation and witnessed the transition of Ottoman policy and culture at the turn of the eighteenth century. She was the last in the classical era of Ottoman women, and the first in the period of burgeoning Westernization. Her successors suffered from a series of military losses, economic crises and fatal uprisings, and frequently had to yield to changes of the sovereign, just as she had done, but, unlike her, they did not witness new conquests or enjoy a period in which the Ottomans were able to see themselves as superior, in developmental

terms, to Europeans. On the contrary, her successors lived in a time where the general impetus was one of playing catch-up to Western rivals. Nevertheless, the picture was not as simple as the now out-dated paradigm of the 'decline of the Ottoman Empire'. Successive sultans and state officials took many measures to overcome the structural problems that were emerging: they put new laws into practice, introduced new armies and even reshaped the regime several times, as exemplified in the Imperial Rescripts of 1839 and 1856, or the Constitutions of 1876 and 1908.

Despite these changes, Ottoman sultanas after Gülnuş Sultan still pursued their role of architectural patronage and took their predecessors as their role models, although their patronage was often over-determined by the period's historical context and its dominant cultural influences. A new style was not the only major change; new building types and methods of legitimization were also introduced. Although the wives of sultans were generally hesitant to embark on large building activities, queen mothers continued to enhance the rule of their sons via various architectural endowments that would reshape the cityscapes of the Empire. Therefore, this chapter will focus on Gülnuş Sultan's successors' (Appendix 6) building activities, starting with favourites of Ahmed III – the daughters-in-law of Gülnuş – and ending with Rahime Perestü Sultan, the last queen mother of the Ottoman dynasty. Similar to the method used in Chapter 2, we will mainly depend on secondary literature, but we will also make use of hitherto-unused archival documents, in particular several endowment deeds that list the various buildings and stipulate the regulations of their upkeep.

During his long and relatively successful reign, Ahmed III (r. 1703–30) had several wives, two of which gave birth to future sultans but none of whom lived long enough to become the queen mother. Emetullah Kadın (d. 1740), the namesake of Emetullah Rabia Gülnuş Sultan, was known to be the principal consort (*başkadın*) of Ahmed III, although she did not give birth to a son. In 1707, the Sultan gave Emetullah a bakery in Galata and the Simkeşhane (khan) in Beyazıt as a present; she herself built a masjid, a primary school, a fountain and a water reservoir next to the khan, re-investing the income from both the bakery and the Simkeşhane; and she also built another fountain in Üsküdar in 1728. Mihrişah Kadın (d. 1732), another wife of Ahmed III and the mother of three princes and the future Sultan Mustafa III (r. 1757–74), built two fountains in Üsküdar in 1728. Though she did not live long enough to build her own mosque as a queen mother, her son Mustafa III dedicated Ayazma Mosque, built in Üsküdar in 1761 to her. Şermi Rabia Kadın (d. 1732), another consort of Ahmed III and

the mother of Abdülhamid I (r. 1774–89), built another fountain in Üsküdar in 1728. Just as Mustafa III had done, Abdülhamid I devoted a mosque to his mother, this time the mosque of Beylerbeyi which he built in 1778.[1]

This similarity is interesting in the sense that these two imperial mosques represent mothers and sons, as if mirrors to those seventeenth-century mosques that mothers built in the name of their reigning sons. The fountains built in Üsküdar by the three consorts of Ahmed III, however, were less symbolic and more practical, natural extensions of the waterways that Ahmed III and his grand vizier Damat İbrahim Pasha constructed in Üsküdar between 1718 and 1728.[2] It is noteworthy that Mihrişah's and Şermi Rabia's fountains' inscriptions name these women as the mothers of princes.[3] Once again, this reminds us of the fact that an Ottoman woman's power arose from the potential power embodied by their sons; thus any of their works of philanthropy are legitimized by using the names of future sultans.

The first queen mother after Gülnuş was Saliha Sultan (d. 1739), wife of Mustafa II and mother of Mahmud I (r. 1730–54). Although none of her buildings from the period when she was the favourite, between 1695 and 1703, are known, she was the patron of several architectural works – especially water structures – while she was Queen Mother (1730–9). She played an important role in Mahmud I's campaign to bring water to the Galata and Beyoğlu districts of Istanbul, a procedure which began in the reign of Ahmed III and was completed in 1732. She built waterways that brought water from the Bahçeköy and Balaban rivers to fountains in Galata, Tophane, Fındıklı, Beşiktaş and Kasımpaşa, as well as a water dispenser and a primary school in Azapkapı[4] (Figure 8.1). Moreover, she built the Kılıçpınarı dam and other fountains in Bereketzade, Eyüp, Silivrikapı, Çengelköy and Kadiriler Yokuşu; she also oversaw repairs to the Arap Mosque and the Alacaminare Mosque.[5] She allocated money for recitations of the Qur'an in the Arap Mosque and other necessary expenses of the building; she also ordered that money from her waqf be sent to high-ranking servants in Mecca and Medina.[6]

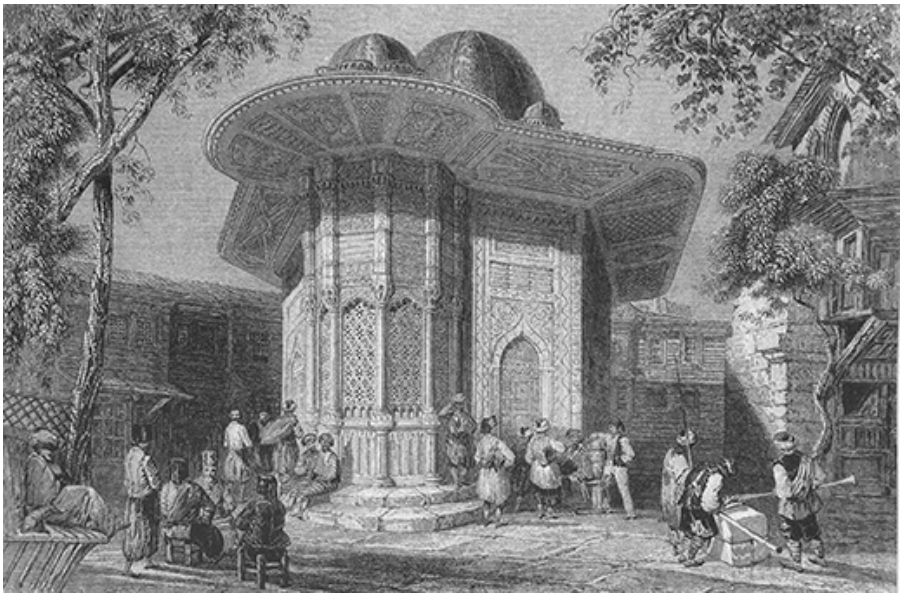


Figure 8.1 Saliha Sultan's Azapkapı fountain and water dispenser in a nineteenth-century engraving by W. H. Bartlett (after Julia Pardoe, *Sultanlar Şehri İstanbul* [Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2009], p. 513).

When Osman III (r. 1754–7) ascended the throne upon his brother Mahmud I's death, he was already aged 55 and his mother Şehsuvar Sultan (d. 1756) was thus established as queen mother for only for a brief duration. Like Saliha Sultan, and unlike Gülnuş Sultan, she did not have the opportunity to embark on building activities when she was the favourite of Mustafa II, and her short tenure as queen mother, only 16-and-a-half months, undoubtedly hindered any architectural patronage she might have planned. After her death in 1756, she was buried in her tomb next to Nuruosmaniye Mosque Complex, which was constructed by Mahmud I to be 'Mahmudiye Mosque', but completed and named after Osman III in 1755 upon Mahmud's death[7] (Figure 8.2).

Both Mahmud I and Osman III were childless and none of their consorts became Valide Sultan. However, favourites were able to embark on modest building activities. Two of Mahmud I's consorts, Alicenab Kadın (d. 1775) and Verdinaz Kadın (d. 1804), built a primary school, a fountain and a water dispenser in Istanbul, near Fatih Mosque and Murat Pasha Mosque in Aksaray, respectively, while Verdinaz Kadın built another fountain in Galata.[8] Another of Mahmud I's consorts, Hadice Râmi Kadın (d. 1780), built a bridge and a public bath in Beşiktaş market, as well as a primary school, fountain and water dispenser opposite the kitchens of Beşiktaş Palace. Similarly,

Osman III's wife Zevkî Kadın (d. ?) built a primary school and fountain in the courtyard of Fındıklı Palace in 1755.[9] All of these women confined themselves to small-scale architectural activities with similar elements; this illustrates the discrepancy in power between the consorts and the Valide Sultan: childless, an Ottoman woman's power was much reduced.

Mustafa III's (r. 1757–74) primary consort Mihrişah Sultan (d. 1805) was, after Gülnuş Sultan, probably the most influential Ottoman woman of the eighteenth century. She became Valide Sultan after Selim III's accession in 1789 (r. 1789–1807). Although we cannot attribute any building activities to her when she was merely a royal favourite to Mustafa III, she became a very active patron of architecture in her later life as Valide Sultan, working together with her son Selim III, whose reign oversaw a tremendous building campaign in Istanbul. In 1797 she financed the construction of a dam known as *Valide Bendi* in Bahçeköy to increase the capacity of the Taksim waterways. In the grand tradition of Ottoman women builders, she constructed two fountains in Üsküdar in 1791 and in 1797, in the names of her deceased daughters. She built three other fountains in Fındıklı in 1798, in Kurtuluş in 1799 and in Yeniköy in 1805, all natural extensions of the Taksim and Üsküdar waterways.

Mihrişah Sultan also built two fountains and a double-minareted mosque in the courtyard of Humbaracılar Barracks in Hasköy in 1794. The next year, she built a complex in Eyüp, which consisted of a soup kitchen, a primary school, two fountains, a water dispenser, several houses and her tomb[10] (Plate 12). Indeed, Mihrişah Sultan's philanthropic works were not limited to these. She built a masjid, public bath and fountains in the Levent Barracks, a mosque in Boyacıköy, a mosque in Küçüksu, a Mevlevî convent in Kasımpaşa and the Tabhane public bath between 1792 and 1803. After her death, in 1806 Selim III built a monumental fountain in Küçüksu in her name.[11] Selim III himself was transforming the city with new military, religious and public structures; his mother consistently complemented his efforts.[12]



Figure 8.2 Nuruosmaniye Mosque, built by Mahmud I in Ottoman baroque style and opened for prayer by Osman III in 1755, was the centre piece of the first imperial complex to be built by and named after a *male* sultan since that of Sultan Ahmed I, which was completed in 1616 (author's photograph, 2012).

Two other consorts of Mustafa III also took part in building activities, though as mere favourites without male children, their reach was limited through circumstance. Adilşah Kadın (d. 1803), mother of royal princesses Beyhan Sultan and Hadice Sultan, built a

wooden mosque called Şişehane Masjid near the Tekfur Palace in Istanbul. After her death, in 1805 her daughters rebuilt it and added a primary school and a fountain; they also built another fountain and primary school in Mahmutpaşa in the name of their mother. Aynülhayat Kadın (d. 1764), mother of the princess Mihrümah Sultan, built the Katırcıhanı Masjid in 1760.[13]

The last six years of Mustafa III's reign witnessed a catastrophic war with Russia, and the reign of Abdülhamid I (r. 1774–89) opened with Küçük Kaynarca Treaty, resulting in the loss of Crimea and the northern shores of the Black Sea; the war itself (1787–92) continued after his death.[14] Thus, just as Mustafa III's wives had before them, those of Abdülhamid I lived through an unstable period, making building activities difficult. Nevertheless, they did give examples of architectural patronage, though modest when compared to those of previous favourites. Ayşe Sineperver Sultan (d. 1828), the sixth wife of Abdülhamid I, built a fountain in Üsküdar in 1780 with a reference to her son, Prince Mustafa on its inscription panel (Figure 7.11). When he became Sultan Mustafa IV (r. 1807–8), she likewise became Valide Sultan but stayed in this post only for 14 months, until her son was dethroned; however, in later life she built a primary school and a fountain in Fatih in 1825, later in Mahmud II's (r. 1808–39) reign.[15]

Another consort of Abdülhamid I was Nakşıdil Sultan (d. 1817); she became queen mother when her son Mahmud II ascended the throne in 1808. She financed the renovation of a fountain in Sultanahmet in 1788, during Abdülhamid I's tenure, but her other buildings emerged later in her son's reign. She built a fountain in Üsküdar in 1809, and her son Mahmud II built another one in her name in Fatih in 1818.[16] Mahmud II also built his mother's tomb in Fatih, complete with an attending water dispenser adjacent to it, in 1818.[17] She is also known to have built a kiosk in Validebağ in 1813 before her death.[18] Moreover, she built a neighbourhood masjid and a primary school in Ayvansaray in Istanbul and supplied the necessary water for these structures, establishing a waqf for their maintenance.[19]

Another of Abülhamid I's wives was Şebsefa Hatun (d. 1805) and in 1787 she built a mosque, a primary school and a fountain in Zeyrek, a tribute to the soul of her deceased son, Prince Mehmed[20] (Figure 8.3). Unlike the other wives of Abdülhamid I or previous favourites of the eighteenth century, this building activity of hers was remarkable as it contained a domed mosque. However, once again, the dedication of a philanthropic work by a mother to her royal son is less unusual. Similarly, Hümaşah Kadın (d. 1778), yet another wife of Abdülhamid I, built a fountain in Dolmabahçe in the name of her deceased royal son, as well as two other fountains in Eyüp and Emirgan, the latter of

which was completed by her husband after her death.[21]

Selim III, like Mahmud I and Osman III, was childless, and the record suggests that he was probably infertile or had been castrated.[22] Consquently, none of his consorts had the opportunity to bear a male heir and, as a result, their building capacities were very limited. One of his consorts, Refet Kadın (d. 1867), built a primary school in the Selimiye neighbourhood of Üsküdar, where Selim III also built new barracks for his new army and the imperial mosque which sat next to it. In this sense, her contribution was part of Selim's efforts to create a new district where he would establish a 'new order' for the out-dated army. A concubine of Selim III, Tıflıgül Hanım, built a fountain in the İhsaniye neighbourhood of Üsküdar.[23] Mustafa IV, who succeeded Selim III after the Kabakçı Mustafa Event in 1807, faced a similar fate to his predecessor and was replaced by Mahmud II (r. 1808–39) after the Alemdar Mustafa Pasha Event in 1808; none of his consorts had the chance to finance building activities during his turbulent reign.

The reigns of both Mahmud II and Abdülmecid (r. 1839–61) witnessed extraordinary political and military events in the Ottoman Empire. This included the annihilation of the Janissary Corps in 1826 and its replacement with a new modern army and the Tanzimat Period, which began in 1839. The Imperial Rescript of Gülhane, which initiated the period, yielded several reforms, in particular addressing legal inequality amongst minority Ottoman subjects and establishing justice among Muslims and non-Muslims alike. As nations began to form within the historical borders of the Ottoman Empire, the empire itself began to undergo a process of dismantlement and European powers began to exert pressures upon the empire to make good on their Gülhane promises and secure the rights of non-Muslims. Such reformations were made and were consolidated with the Imperial Rescript of 1856.[24]



Figure 8.3 Şebsefa Hatun's Mosque (1787) was the first mosque to be built in the capital by a favourite or consort after a long gap of nearly two centuries, though she had to legitimize this patronage with a tribute to her deceased son (author's photograph, 2008).

However, the European influence was not only being felt in the realm of politics, but also in art and architecture, as a natural consequence of the Westernization movements that had followed the destructive defeats and capitulations of the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. The culture and architecture of the Ottoman Empire reflected this Europeanization, and the buildings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries started to acquire more and more Western elements. Eventually there was precious little separating the architecture of the Ottomans to that of their European contemporaries, as exemplified with the Dolmabahçe Palace of Abdülmecid.

In this period of radical changes, Bezmialem Sultan (d. 1853), Mahmud II's wife and Abdülmecid's mother, was probably the most powerful sultana of the nineteenth-century Ottoman world. She was especially influential on her young son, who was enthroned as Sultan at the tender age of 16, and it is likely that she was involved in state politics throughout his reign. Bezmialem also complemented her son's architectural campaigns, which changed the appearance of Istanbul dramatically and started to give it a much more ‘European’ aspect. She

built a hospital, the first modern health centre of Istanbul, together with a single-minareted mosque and a fountain in Yenibahçe in 1845. She also built a high school, which was the first modern college of the Ottoman Empire, together with its own printing press and library, in Cağaloğlu in 1850.[25] These two architectural enterprises introduced new types of building to Istanbul, upgrading the previous centuries' *darüşşifa* hospitals and madrasas. At a time when the Empire was trying to open itself up to modernity, Bezmialem Sultan was establishing new institutions that would help the state keep pace with its European rivals.

Bezmialem Sultan's building activities also included conventional structures, such as fountains, primary schools and mosques. She built a fountain in Maçka in 1839 when Abdülmecid ascended the throne. She also renovated a fountain in Kasımpaşa and another in Silivrikapı, built a three-façaded fountain in Sultanahmet and built other fountains in Topkapı, Beşiktaş, Tarabya, Alibeyköy and Yıldız.[26] She built primary schools in Beykoz and Edirnekapı and constructed the New Galata Bridge, also known as *Valide Köprüsü*, in 1845. She also built two fountains in Medina and Karbala, and another hospital in Mecca.[27] Her philanthropic works in Istanbul, that is, fountains and primary schools, resemble those of Ottoman women builders in the eighteenth century, while other structures in holy cities of Islam remind us two previous Ottoman women, Hürrem Sultan and Gülnuş Sultan, who, as we know, also chose these cities. Similarly, Bezmialem Sultan established her own waqf and endowed numerous income generating properties in order to finance the upkeep of these buildings and their administration.[28]

Bezmialem Sultan's magnum opus was the Dolmabahçe Mosque adjacent to the Palace on the waterfront of the Bosphorus Strait which was built between 1846 and 1855 by Abdülmecid (Plate 13). Both structures, including the mosque, were built in a high European style. Sadly, Bezmialem did not live long enough to see the completion of both structures: she never inhabited the splendid Queen Mother's Rooms in the palace and, likewise, the mosque was finished by her son in 1855, and was named after her.[29] This double-minareted imperial mosque was a rival to the majestic mosques of the queen mothers of previous centuries, and it was complemented with a timekeeper's place and a water dispenser. Its dominant neoclassical style and placement next to Abdülmecid's new palace also attests to the fact that, in design and in political messaging, Bezmialem was fully behind her son's attempts at reform and Europeanization.

Another wife of Mahmud II was Pertevniyal (Pertev Nihal) Sultan (d. 1883). After giving birth to the future Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–

76), her status in Mahmud's harem increased and she eventually became queen mother after Abdülmecid's death in 1861. Similar to Bezmialem Sultan, Pertevniyal was very powerful and influential during her 15 years as queen mother to Abdülaziz. Abdülaziz himself introduced new buildings with modern functions to Istanbul, including the first university *Darülfünun*, the palaces of Çırağan and Beylerbeyi on the shores of Bosphorus, the barracks of Tophane and Maçka and new transportation structures such as Istanbul-Edirne-Rumeli railway and the *Tünel* underground line between Karaköy and Beyoğlu. As well as hosting several foreign leaders in Istanbul, Abdülaziz was the first Ottoman sultan to visit foreign countries outside of the Empire and he also took his sons, the future sultans Murad and Abdülhamid, along with him on his journey through France, England, Prussia and Austria in 1867. This trip evidently inspired the abovementioned novelties, in addition to many others. However, in the face of these expenditures, the Ottomans were suffering from a fiscal crisis, unease produced by newly introduced taxes and further nationalist uprisings in the Balkans. In spite of all Abdülaziz's modernizations, the way was being paved for the dissolution of the Empire.[30]

Pertevniyal Sultan had the opportunity to build philanthropic structures alongside her son, the most important of which was her complex in Aksaray. Replacing a ruined mosque in this busy district of Istanbul, it became the last Valide Sultan mosque of the Ottoman dynasty. Completed in 1871, the double-minareted mosque was designed eclectically with inspirations from Gothic, Ottoman and Indian styles (Figure 8.4), and accompanied by a modern school named as *Mahmudiye Mektebi* that later became Pertevniyal High School, a library, a timekeeper's place, a fountain and a tomb. She also financed several fountains in different districts of Istanbul, including in Karagümrük, Beşiktaş, Yenibahçe and Eyüp, this one being built in 1856 before she became the queen mother.[31] Moreover, she started building a hospital in Medina, but the construction was halted upon Abdülaziz's deposition, and it was completed posthumously in 1889.[32] Given the extent of her patronage, the hospital in Medina, the double-minareted imperial mosque and the high school in Istanbul, the architectural philanthropy of Pertevniyal closely resembles that of Bezmialem Sultan, and attests to the extent of her wealth and power as the queen mother.



Figure 8.4 Pertevniyal Sultan Mosque (1871) in Aksaray, Istanbul (author's photograph, 2016).

Another consort of Mahmud II was Hoşyar Kadın (d. 1859). Just as Bezmialem and Pertevniyal built little while they were in Mahmud II's harem, Hoşyar similarly began to build only after Mahmud II's death. In 1844 she built a madrasa in Burgaz in the name of her deceased daughter Mihrümah, added a mosque next to it later, and also built a fountain in Kasımpaşa in the name of her late daughter.[33] It seems that Bezmialem and Pertevniyal waited to establish their power during the reign of their sons before embarking on building activities. However, Hoşyar, who failed to give birth to a son and lost her daughter, embarked on these projects only in the name of her daughter during the reign of Abdülmecid.

Among many other wives of Abdülmecid, two became queen mothers: Şevkefza (d. 1889) as mother of Murad V (r. 1876) and Rahime Perestü (d. 1904) as step-mother of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909), since his biological mother Tirimüjgan (d. 1852) had passed away before his accession and he was rasied by Perestü (or Pirüstü) Kadın. Besides Tirimüjgan, Gülcemal Kadın (d. 1851), the mother of Mehmed V (1909–18), and Gülüstü Hanım (d. 1861), mother of Mehmed VI (1918–22), never became Valide Sultan because they both died long before their sons' reigns. Further, although the numerous consorts of Abdülmecid were very well-known, with the exception of

these five women, none of the others lent their name to building projects.[34]

Şevkefza was the last 'real' queen mother of the Ottoman Dynasty; the other three wives of Abdülmecid who were mothers of future sultans died before their sons' enthronement. Şevkefza's own reign, however, was very short, at just three months. Furthermore, those months were not easy, largely due to the mental problems of Murad V, who sat on the throne only for 93 days before he was replaced by his half-brother, Abdülhamid II. The length of Sultan Murad's reign meant, therefore, that Şevkefza did not have the opportunity to finance any building activities, despite the fact that in practice, for that short period, she held a uniquely powerful position, given the absence of a sovereign of sound mind. It was even claimed by contemporaries that she was guilty of taking over the control of the empire, likened as she was to Queen Victoria in Great Britain.[35]

Rahime Perestü was the last woman of the Ottoman Empire to be given the title Valide Sultan, even though the title was honorary, for she did not give any child to Abdülmecid. Nevertheless, because she had cared for Abdülhamid II upon his own mother Tirimüjgan's death, she was awarded the honorary title and she occupied the seat of queen mother symbolically for the first 28 years of Abdülhamid II's 33-year-long reign. However, she did not actively perform this role. Her reign started with important events indicative of the death throes at the end of the long life of the Empire. These events included the announcement of the First Constitution, the establishment of the Ottoman parliament in 1876 and its immediate suspension in 1877 upon the outbreak of Russian–Ottoman War. The Russian–Ottoman War resulted in catastrophic loses and the secession of the Balkan states from the Empire. The rest of Abdülhamid II's reign was known as a period of oppression which lasted until the 31 March Incident, which precipitated his dethronement and the reestablishment of the Ottoman Parliament in 1909.[36]

Perestü left only two modest examples of architectural patronage, despite her long tenure, which perhaps points to the limits of her power as merely a *symbolic* Valide Sultan. She built two water dispensers and a fountain in front of the Bâlâ Complex in Silivrikapı in 1896 (Figure 8.5). These water structures were in fact a part of rebuilding of the convent on that site which took place after 1894 earthquake, and Perestü only played a minor role alongside Mahmud II's daughter Adile Sultan and Abdülhamid II, who financed the rebuilding of other elements of the complex.[37] Perestü's minor role in the repairs shows us that her patronage was on a level with the other Ottoman women of the time, and was not comparable to that of

Pertevniyal Sultan or Bezmialem Sultan, the two queen mothers of the same century who stamped their own unique seals upon the architectural heritage of the Ottoman Empire.



Figure 8.5 Water dispensers and fountain built by Rahime Perüstü Sultan in front of Bâlâ Dervish Convent in Silivrikapı in 1896 were the last philanthropic act of Ottoman royal women (author's photograph, 2010).

Although the last five sovereigns of the Ottoman Empire, Abdülaziz, Murad V, Abdülhamid II, Mehmed V and Mehmed VI, had large harems and many wives, some of whom gave birth to princes, none of these women ever became queen mothers due to the slow collapse of the Empire and the eventual end of the Ottoman dynastic regime in 1922. The women of these last harems were mere favourites of those sovereigns and, tellingly, none of them patronized building activities. We can speculate as to the reason for this. Perhaps they were constrained by the catastrophic final 60 years of the Empire, which witnessed enormous military and territorial losses, economic crises and political turbulence. Or perhaps it is evidence of the lesser influence of wives upon sultans rather than their mothers, even when their own authority was being challenged by other dignitaries and finally the parliament. It should be kept in mind that the power of Abdülaziz's wives was eclipsed by that of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan, and that those of Murad V had only three months of his reign in order to make their mark. Other barriers include Abdülhamid II's despotic

rule: he restrained even his wives' public appearances. The last of the emperors only really reigned symbolically, as part of a constitutional monarchy; even his own architectural patronages were almost invisible. All these speculations may account for the reasons why the patronage of favourites all but disappeared in the last six decades of the Empire, bringing to an end a long and glorious tradition of architectural ingenuity and philanthropy from an at-times overlooked subsection of the Ottoman household.

The Evolution of the Building Activities of Ottoman Sultanas after Gülnuş Sultan

The three principal favourites of Ahmed III, Emetullah, Mihrişah and Şermi Rabia, only ever enjoyed the title of ‘wife of the sovereign’ and their patronages remained modest. Emetullah did not give birth to a prince, and even though Mihrişah and Şermi Rabia gave birth to future sultans, neither lived long enough to become queen mother. Emetullah's building activities were slightly more extended than those of her co-wives, with a masjid, a primary school and fountain to her name, but other than that, the women's patronage was limited to three fountains in Üsküdar, respectively in the names of Emetullah, Mihrişah and Şermi Rabia, the water of all being supplied from the newly built waterways of Ahmed III. On the other hand, the wives of Ahmed's elder brother Mustafa II, Saliha and Şehsuvar, were unable to finance any buildings during their husband's relatively short reign, which, as we have seen, was marked with military failures. However, Saliha did build several water structures, including six fountains, a dam and a water conduit system, while Şehsuvar's mere two-year tenure did not afford her the time or space necessary to embark on building activities.

The next generation of Harem women were childless since their husbands Mahmud I and Osman III were probably infertile or castrated. Concordantly, Alicenab, Verdinaz and Hadice Râmi, Mahmud I's three wives, and Osman III's wife Zevkî built modest complexes consisting of primary schools, fountains and water dispensers, with an additional bridge and public bath being built by Hadice Râmi. The modest nature of the patronage of royal consorts continued in the following generations of the eighteenth century, with those masjids built by Mustafa III's wives Adilşah and Aynülhayat, and with the fountains built by Abdülhamid I's wives Ayşe Sineperver, Nakşıdil, Şebsefa and Hümaşah. However, Şebsefa seems to represent an exception, with an additional mosque and primary school to her name, but she safely legitimized these structures by devoting them to

her deceased prince. It should be noted that inscription panels of most of the buildings built by wives of sovereigns deliberately named those women as the mothers of princes, as seen above, underlining that their power emanated from their sons and was entirely contingent on their contribution to the continuity of Ottoman dynasty. Nevertheless, two childless favourites were able to add their names to the architectural palimpsest of Üsküdar: Selim III's wives Refet and Tıflıgül built a primary school and a fountain there, complementing the sultan's own building activities in a new neighbourhood of the town.

On the other hand, when we pay attention to the male royal builders of the eighteenth-century Ottoman world, we see a different pattern than that of the previous century, where queen mothers had taken over the duty of constructing imperial structures, a practice which came to something of an end with the death of Gülnuş Sultan in the early eighteenth century. Mahmud I dared to build his own mosque complex, Nuruosmaniye, near to the entrance of Grand Bazaar, after a long break with the practice of direct architectural patronage coming from the sultan, a break initiated, as we have seen, after the building of the iconic but, at the time, deeply controversial Sultan Ahmed Mosque. Although Mustafa III and Abdülhamid I built mosque complexes on the Asian side of Istanbul in the name of their mothers, Mustafa III built Laleli Mosque in 1763 for himself and repaired Fatih Mosque, which was devastated after the 1766 earthquake. Therefore, although in the eighteenth century defeats were taken on the battlefields and the royal coffers suffered from a lack of replenishment from booty and battle acquisitions, sultans nevertheless took back the role of building imperial mosques. This practice continued into the nineteenth century as well. Alongside the subtle shifts in power that this change indicates, the phenomena is perhaps primarily due to shorter reigns, early deaths and a general deficit, in the eighteenth century, of queen mothers who were able to stay alive long enough to see their sons enthroned.

Putting aside the two-year reign of Şehsuvar Sultan, the next queen mother was Mihrişah Sultan, mother of Selim III, after a long period from Saliha Sultan's nine-year-long tenure. As Saliha had done, Mihrişah put lots of efforts especially in building water structures, including a dam and at least five fountains. She was also a builder of several mosques, one of which was a double-minareted, domed imperial mosque in Hasköy, a constituent part of a new army barracks built as part of an attempt to modernize the Empire's army. Her complex in Eyüp, as well as the public bath and the convent built elsewhere in Istanbul, was reminiscent of previous century's patronages. While Ayşe Sineperver Sultan's short reign as queen

mother did not provide her with the opportunity to embark on patronage projects, that of Nakşıdil was nine years long and more fruitful. However, this reign too could not be compared to Mihrişah's; nevertheless, we can speculate that if Nakşıdil had lived longer during her son Mahmud II's reign, she might have been able to build on a similar scale.

This downward trend in the extent of the patronage projects of Ottoman queen mothers was reversed in the nineteenth century. Bezmialem and Pertevniyal, who enjoyed reigns of 14 and 15 years, during the reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz, respectively, both financed the construction of numerous fountains and primary schools, on a much larger scale than their predecessors. But it is their other building activities which mark these two royal women out in particular: Bezmialem built a modern hospital and the first modern college, as well as a bridge connecting Istanbul with Galata, and a double-minareted mosque complex accompanying her son's modern palace in Dolmabahçe. Pertevniyal built her own double-minareted mosque complex in Aksaray and complemented it with subsidiary elements. These were, in a sense, revivals of the legacy of past queen mothers and their glorious, innovative and majestic complexes; it was to some extent a false impression: the economy continued to stagnate and degrade and, in Europe, the Empire was coming to be understood as a toothless tiger, rather than the fearsome power it had been in previous times. These buildings were part of a general attempt to show that the Empire was still powerful, and still capable of lavish expenditures, just like the palaces built on the shores of Bosphorus. Nevertheless, among the Great Powers of Europe, the Empire was becoming known as the Sick Man.

Notably, Ottoman royal women after Gülnuş Sultan from the beginning of the eighteenth century until mid-nineteenth century only built in Istanbul. Then, two powerful queen mothers – Bezmialem and Pertevniyal – also picked notable cities of Islam for their philanthropic endowments; presumably in order to show that despite challenges, the Ottomans remained the guardians of these holy places and were devoted protectors of the Faith. Prior to this period, the concentration of women's patronage in Istanbul could be explained as a further impact of the sedentarization of the sultanate, a decrease in the mobility of royal women and their probable wish to concentrate on the capital in order to target the affections of a large population efficiently. The shrinking territories of the Empire might have also affected the geographical scope of building projects, making Istanbul the *de facto* scene for them.

With the absence of significant building activities, the last two

queen mothers were signalling the approaching end of the Empire. Şevkefza, who was queen mother for only three months, was clearly unable to find either the time and or the suitable conditions for patronage. Rahime Perestü, by contrast, had time, but was merely a symbolic queen mother, in the absence of the biological mother of Abdülhamid II, and she only contributed to a rebuilding project with a fountain and two water dispensers, during her 28 years long tenure. It should also be noted that none of the numerous wives of nineteenth-century Ottoman sovereigns after Selim III that we know of embarked upon any building activities. This could be interpreted as the result of a loss of power of harem women, and their decreasing impact on the reigning sultans as consorts. However, Mihrişah, Bezmialem and Pertevniyal still represented powerful queen mother figures with their extensive patronages, and especially so with their double-minareted mosques.

On the other hand, Ottoman sultans from Selim III to Abdülhamid II built their own mosque complexes in Istanbul and in other cities of the empire. Selim III's Selimiye, Mahmud II's Nusretiye, Abdülmecid's Mecidiye, Abdülaziz's (unfinished) Aziziye and Abdülhamid II's Yıldız mosques represent a harking back to the grandiosity of the sixteenth-century imperial complexes, but with a change in preferred location. Due to lack of suitable construction sites within the historic peninsula, these mosques line the shores of Bosphorus and continued the trend started with Mustafa III's Ayazma and Abdülhamid I's Beylerbeyi mosques, both of which were dedicated to deceased queen mothers. Thus, in architectural terms, the sultanate of women did indeed end with Gülnuş Sultan; slowly, but surely, Ottoman sultans retook the reigns of adorning and constructing their imperial centre.

In conclusion, by retracing the building activities of Ottoman royal women back almost two centuries, we see an evolution of patronage conditioned by the shifting political realities of the Ottoman state. It is an evolution absent of linear change. The political and economic context seem to be the foremost determinant of women's patronage, but the position of the women – as concubine, wife, consort with a prince (a favourite), or, with most prestige, a queen mother – was also an important determiner of the scale, quantity and innovation of those building activities. Similarly, the length of their reign was also decisive. Of course, these parameters had long-existed, but, as we shall see in the final pages of this monograph, it is only after the death of Gülnuş Sultan that these factors really come to the fore.

CHAPTER 9

A COMPARISON: WHERE DO THE BUILDINGS OF GÜLNUŞ SULTAN STAND WITHIN OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE?

A young girl called Evmenia, taken captive from the Cretan town of Rethymno and brought to the Ottoman Harem, slowly climbed the steps of power as Gülnuş Sultan and became first the favourite of the sovereign, Mehmed IV, and then the mother to two sultans, the embattled Mustafa II and Ahmed III. She also became an extraordinarily prolific patron of architectural philanthropy. In this book, we have traced her footsteps and reflected on her power, her humanitarian vision and her religious devotion as demonstrated in the remit, scope and magnitude of her buildings. The quantity, quality and location of these edifices attest to the fact that Gülnuş Sultan occupied a significant place among Ottoman women builders. However, in order to truly comprehend this significance, it is essential to place her building works within a network of comparison, both between themselves, to recognize internal development, with work being done by her contemporaries, and that of both her predecessors and successors, so that ultimately we can assess where she sits within the canon of Ottoman woman builders.

Therefore, before concluding this monograph, we will try to decipher the place where Gülnuş Sultan's buildings stand within Ottoman architecture as a whole. We will first concentrate on the reign of Gülnuş Sultan and evaluate her buildings by comparing their architectural features, expenses and modes of operation, using the data presented in chapters 3 to 7. Then, we will look at the bigger picture by comparing Gülnuş Sultan's patronage to that of other Ottoman women builders in order to understand the impact of Gülnuş Sultan as an architectural patron and the evolution of royal women's patronage, using the data presented in chapters 2 to 8. Only then we will be able to safely determine the legacy of Gülnuş Sultan and be able to appreciate the changes wrought by her activities over the Empire's *longue duree*.

Evaluation of Gülnuş Sultan's Buildings and Patronage

When we focus on the building activities of Gülnuş Sultan spread over a period of 40 years, they not only altogether form an ideal sample of royal women's patronage, but they also shed light on an important chapter of Ottoman architecture. The change in Ottoman classical style can be observed from her surviving buildings, and the construction and operating costs can be traced for this period. Further, the locations and types of buildings hint towards overarching patronage policies. Therefore, we will first make an architectural and stylistic comparison among the buildings of Gülnuş Sultan, then focus on their costs and yearly waqf allowances in order to have an idea about the fiscal extent and intended impact of these philanthropic works.

A Qualitative Evaluation: Stylistic Comparison

Fortunately, the majority of Gülnuş Sultan's buildings still stand, and, fortuitously, we have been able to create a realistic reconstruction of one of her important, now non-extant, buildings, namely Galata New Mosque. However, many of her buildings have not survived. These include: two of her converted churches, the one in Chios and the other in Oran; the hospital, the soup kitchen and the primary school in Mecca; the khan, houses and primary school in Jeddah; the storehouses in Bulak and Suez and the majority of the bridges and the fountain with prayer platform between Hersek and Boyalıca. Therefore, the architectural comparison here will be based on surviving buildings of Gülnuş Sultan that are listed in Appendix 1 and shown on the map in Appendix 2.

The mosque named after Gülnuş Sultan, which was converted from a church in Kamianets-Podilskyi in 1672, and converted back to a church 27 years later, still preserves its original plan and architectural features. Thus, it not only gives us clues about the layout and physical features of building when it was used as a mosque, but also hints at what other conversions that took place in Chios and Oran in 1695 and 1708 may have looked like, since these were likewise canonical transformations designed to introduce Islamic liturgical elements and remove Christian ones. We can be almost sure that similar limited changes would have been carried out for those basilical structures as well.

As mentioned previously, the minbar of the mosque in Kamianets-Podilskyi (Figure 3.3) still survives and constitutes an important

source of information for the decoration of a provincial mosque. When this piece of art is compared with the minbar in Gülnuş Sultan's mosque in Üsküdar, built some 40 years later (Figure 7.5), or with the one in Eminönü New Mosque, built by Turhan Sultan some ten years before, we see similar characteristics and style: specifically, we see muqarnas bands, palmettes, moldings and pointed arches, all of which reflect the classical Ottoman architectural lexicon. However, the dimensions of these two minbars in Istanbul are larger and the ornamentation on them is richer than the one in Kamianets. The minbar in Kamianets had to be smaller due to the smaller dimensions of the building; otherwise a problem of proportion would arise. Moreover, the size and ornamentation of comparison examples are bigger and richer because they are from two imperial mosques built by queen mothers in the imperial capital.

Moving to other coherences, if we put the fountain with prayer platform in Edirne (which dates to 1696), the fountains adjacent to Galata New Mosque (1698 and 1706), and the fountain in Galata Emekyemez neighbourhood (1699) side by side (Plate 14), we see that all maintain the traditional features of Ottoman fountain architecture, with their pointed-arched niches and plain decoration. The one in Edirne is almost devoid of embellishment, probably due to fact that it was built outside the city centre where utility, rather than decoration, was its primary function. The three fountains in Galata, however, are more ornate and all three feature similar decorative elements, such as mouldings and floral motifs; nevertheless, the first one built simultaneously with the Galata New Mosque stands out with its monumental scale and the pair of pilasters creating dentations on its façade. Even so, when taken together it can be argued that these four fountains, built within an eight-year period, represent a continuation of the classical articulation.

By contrast, the fountain dated to 1709 in the Üsküdar Complex deviates markedly from those immediate predecessors and explicitly manifests a change of style, even to the first glance of a non-expert eye. The classical Ottoman fountain gives way to a Tulip Period fountain both in decoration and articulation with this pioneering example in Üsküdar. A new decorative lexicon was introduced with its niche embellished with reliefs of flowers in vases and fruits in baskets, capped by a shell motif above a band of muqarnas, and the fountain itself crowned by a reverse shell motif and hefty palmettes carved with arabesque designs. Having first been experimentally used in the Topkapı Palace[1], this decorative innovation was displayed publically for the first time with Gülnuş Sultan's monumental fountain in Üsküdar.

The three-arched bridge constructed by Gülnuş Sultan in 1706 over Yalakabad River between Hersek and Boyalıca has a very classical appearance with its pointed arches and few floral decorations (Figure 4.2). In a letter to Gülnuş Sultan composed by her Chamberlain, Kethüda Mehmed Efendi, the scale of this bridge was compared with that of Saraçhane Bridge in Edirne, which was also rebuilt in early eighteenth century, as seen in Chapter 4. If we take the style of these two bridges into consideration, it would be difficult to find deviations from the bridges constructed in previous centuries. On the other hand, the now non-extant fountain with prayer platform by this bridge might have been constructed in a style similar to the one in Edirne built in 1696.

Another comparison between two examples of the same type of building presents itself through looking on both shores of the Bosphorus – the New Mosque in Galata dated to 1698 versus its namesake in Üsküdar dated to 1711. This comparison yields conspicuous differences. With its hipped roof, single minaret, and two-storeyed articulation devoid of rich decorations, the mosque in Galata was extremely modest, making it very hard to believe that it was an imperial mosque. By contrast, the mosque in Üsküdar, elevated on a platform together with an arcaded courtyard, and crowned with a high dome equipped with double minarets, was typical in its grandeur and clearly recognizable as an imperial mosque. The ostensible reason of the modesty of the former must have been the intention to build a mosque similar to the plan of a nearby predecessor, the Arap Mosque, as is written in the reconnaissance survey; however, other reasons discussed in detail in Chapter 5, governed the striking difference between the two mosques of Gülnuş Sultan. Üsküdar mosque was constructed under relatively better political and economic conditions, under a much more experienced patron, as Gülnuş Sultan was by that time enjoying her second tenure as queen mother. Moreover, the religious mood music had changed and there were no longer any Kadızadelis around to oppose the mosque's double minarets, or other innovations.

Available visual sources suggest that Galata New Mosque was following a classical style, with a muqarnas-decorated mihrab niche framed with mouldings and depressed arches used above the doors. Üsküdar Yeni Valide Mosque's decorative elements adhere to the same style, but the vertical emphasis in its proportions and flower reliefs on the façade of courtyard fountain signal a continuing innovative evolution in design, both of which had been previously observed in the imperial mosque built by Turhan Sultan in Eminönü. Similarly, while the functional elements of Üsküdar complex such as the soup

kitchen and the shops were built in a conventional style, Gülnuş Sultan's tomb was a highly novel approach in mausoleum design with its transparency, lightness and its open top, entirely unlike the previous royal tombs in the capital.

Therefore, a decade between the constructions of Galata and Üsküdar complexes of Gülnuş Sultan corresponds to a much larger leap in a change of style. This leap could be interpreted as opening up the classical patterns and beginning to blend both the Eastern and Western modes. This could be due to the reshaping of Ottoman–European relationships after Karlowitz Treaty of 1699, responding to a natural demand for stylistic innovation that went on to dominate Ottoman architecture for almost three centuries. Gülnuş Sultan's presaged the continuance of such innovation in the Tulip Period, and would be followed by Ottoman Baroque[2] that totally reshaped the conventional modes of Ottoman architecture. Nonetheless, to what extent can Gülnuş Sultan be credited for these innovations? Could these novelties observed in the mosque, fountain and tomb in Üsküdar actually be the inspired choices of Gülnuş Sultan herself?

In fact, using the available documentary and material evidence, it is difficult to prove the level of her influence on design. Nevertheless, we know that a sultana, who had participated in campaigns in Europe and had had the chance to see new cities and buildings, would certainly have experienced novel architectural encounters that might well have shaped her vision. Moreover, the collection of books that she endowed to Üsküdar Complex,[3] the eloquence with which she expressed herself in her letters[4] and the initiative that she took in state politics indicate to us that she was an intellectual woman. Therefore, we can certainly speculate that she was pioneer of at least some of the novelties in her buildings; what is more, her influence on her sons' education, especially that on her younger son Ahmed III, might have opened the door to the innovations observed first in the Tulip Period, and onwards into the rest of the eighteenth century.

A Quantitative Evaluation: Construction Expenses and Operating Costs

When the construction expenses of the buildings of Ottoman women become the subject of academic studies, scholars were often puzzled about the financing issue, and they would frequently refrain from explicitly stating that the costs were met by the women, due to lack of documents.[5] However, as seen in Chapter 3 through Chapter 7, it is clear that the building projects of Gülnuş Sultan were self-financed, either directly from her own budget or from the income of her waqfs.[6]

They were neither built by her husband nor by her sons in her name, as some previous studies have erroneously claimed.[7] Indeed, the documents related to the construction process of the Üsküdar Complex, for example, clearly shows that it was built largely by using her own income, despite the fact that she had to borrow money from her son and daughter in order to ensure completion.[8]

She also established waqfs[9] to ensure the continued functionality of those buildings, for example, to pay the salaries of the attendants, to buy food, or to meet the costs of cleaning and illumination, using the income from the fiefs and properties that she owned, which had been gifted to her by her husband and sons.[10] Two exceptions of this direct financing were the mosques converted from churches in Kamianets-Podilskyi and Oran, which were located in newly conquered cities, and the costs of both transforming them into mosques and their subsequent later operation were probably met from the state treasury or from the incomes collected from the fiefs in those local provinces. In other new building projects she also used the revenue of local fiefs and lands alongside the stipend she received as the favourite or as the queen mother.

Another fact that emerges through reference to the archival documents is that Gülnuş Sultan frequently specified certain regulations about the buildings and their functions. For instance, it was Gülnuş Sultan who gave the ultimate decisions about the recitation of the Qur'an in newly inaugurated Galata New Mosque, after Kethüda Mehmed Efendi proposed different options about the selection of reciters and their wages;[11] these decisions were then provided for by the waqfiyya of the mosque.[12] Similarly, recitation of the Qur'an at the hospital in Mecca was requested by Gülnuş Sultan, and she allocated necessary money and sent volumes of the Qur'an to the reciters in Mecca.[13] The houses built adjacent to the Galata New Mosque were also described to Gülnuş Sultan in a letter from her Chamberlain (Kethüda) and the decision about their use, whether to be allocated to mosque attendants or rented for generating income to the waqf, was left to her.[14] In all cases, Gülnuş Sultan was the supreme decision maker. In addition, we should remember that the construction of Galata New Mosque on the site of the former Catholic Church took place while her son was absent from the capital, and therefore must have been governed by Gülnuş Sultan's decisions from the start; the overwhelming evidence from the archive is that this style of decision making was the case for all of her buildings, with the exception of conventional church conversions in conquered cities.

It is also clear, however, that a crucial mediator in all of this was Kethüda Mehmed Efendi, Gülnuş Sultan's trusted Chamberlain. He

acted as mediator in bringing Gülnuş Sultan's buildings into existence: he fed back to her all details of expenses and accounting, providing detailed reasons when extra expenditures were needed. We know that Gülnuş Sultan carefully scrutinized the details of waqf accounting and regularly asked her Chamberlain for explanations and clarifications when there were shortfalls in the income of her fiefs.[15] Correspondence between them shows us the process of construction, the moments that decisions were made by Gülnuş Sultan, and how they were implemented by Kethüda Mehmed Efendi. For example, this record shows us that it was Gülnuş Sultan who paid attention and insisted on a response to demands for sweet and drinkable water for the residents of Galata. It also shows us that she ordered the construction of new waterways and Mehmed Efendi's letters illuminate the alternatives of water sources, the phases and the expenses of waterway construction. Similarly, the construction process of the bridges and the pavement between Hersek and Boyalıca can easily be reconstructed from Mehmed Efendi's letters, which even detail Gülnuş Sultan's approval of the poem to be written on the inscription panel of the bridge. Clearly, Kethüda was crucial to Gülnuş Sultan's building achievements, acting as a trusted and faithful intermediary between patron and architect, and providing her with access when her gender prevented her from appealing directly to the male-oriented world of architectural philanthropy and construction.

Archival documents not only provide us with clues about the buildings, but they also clearly show the types, amounts, unit prices and expenses of materials used in construction. This is particularly invaluable evidence for those buildings which have not survived, as well as those which have undergone significant rebuilding. As seen in the case of Galata New Mosque, they even help us to reconstruct non-extant monuments. What is more, these documents enable us to assess the extent of her patronage in a comparative manner, as seen in the table of expenses of building activities given in Appendix 5. By doing so, we can easily identify the amount consumed for the construction or repair of a particular building, and we are able to discern which building warranted greater expenditure and compare budgets. However, it should be noted that this table only includes those available documents accessed from the archives; unfortunately, we do not have documents for every one of Gülnuş Sultan's buildings.

According to the table given in Appendix 5, the most expensive building of Gülnuş Sultan was the Üsküdar Complex, her last and obviously her largest architectural enterprise. When other expenses are compared, we can see that the second largest expenditure was the improvement of the pilgrimage route, with the bridges and the

pavement between Hersek and Boyalıca totalling of 44,922.5 *guruş*, 12,251 of which was allocated for the largest bridge and the adjacent fountain. Thus we can see that Gülnuş Sultan's last two building activities were the most costly; perhaps later life was encouraging spiritual thoughts of her legacy and the afterlife, and inspiring works of philanthropy in order to ensure that she would be remembered as a religious woman.

The third largest expense was made for Galata New Mosque, including its fountain and waterways, totalling a sum of 40,465 *guruş*. In fact, the cost of the Üsküdar Complex was more than ten times the cost of Galata New Mosque, consistent with the architectural contrast between these two complexes. On the other hand, the fourth and the fifth largest expenses were made for the construction of new waterways for Üsküdar and Galata mosques and fountains, totalling 26,141 and 22,220 *guruş*, respectively. What this tells us is that invisible waterways, vital infrastructure for Ottoman sanitation and religious life, were in fact very costly when compared to the construction budget of a single fountain: bringing water was both very difficult and very important.

The remaining total of the building and repair expenses that can be seen on the table amounts to less than 10,000 *guruş*, but it should be noted that this source does not include the construction costs of the hospital and soup kitchen in Mecca and associated structures in Jeddah, Sues and Bulak. Nevertheless, we know that the associated repairs and construction of this project amount to 9176 *guruş*, and it can be estimated that the cost of Mecca hospital and soup kitchen was greater than 10,000 *guruş*. Even so, the cost of this philanthropic project was much less than her later patron projects which took place during her tenures as queen mother. This could be attributed to an increase in salary[16], but the main reason for this is more likely to be an increase in her power and economic freedom.

When we use another type of document, for instance, endowment deeds of Gülnuş Sultan (Appendix 3), and compare the figures of the number of attendants, their wages and other waqf expenses, we are also able to see another dimension of the extent of her patronage. This data is tabulated in Appendix 4, again, using the available waqfiyyas accessed through archives in addition to a document related to the converted mosque in Kamianets-Podilskyi. By using these figures, we can deduce which of Gülnuş Sultan's buildings was the greater philanthropic work, as she often had to allocate large amounts of money in order to keep them operating in a sustainable way.

When the figures in the table given in Appendix 4 are compared and operating costs are taken into account, the biggest philanthropic

work of Gülnuş Sultan turns out to be Üsküdar Complex again, both with its total number of 150 attendants, and with sum of daily wages of 1210 *akçes*.[17] On the other hand, the hospital and soup kitchen in Mecca and the associated buildings in Bulak, Suez and Jeddah were operating with a total of 119 attendants and they were receiving almost 2000 *para* a day as well as daily ration of bread and a yearly ration of wheat, and more than 400,000 *para* per year was allocated for other expenses of the waqf. Although the number of philanthropic buildings in Mecca was only two, they were managed by a large team, and were intended to feed and medically provide for the people of Mecca within a well-designed charity network. We may recall that this network was funded by the income of Gülnuş Sultan's large fiefs in the fertile regions of Egypt around the River Nile, which had been presented by Mehmed IV to her with an imperial decree.[18]

After the waqfs of the Üsküdar and Mecca complexes, the mosque in Galata was the third largest philanthrophic work, with its 53 attendants receiving a daily sum of 456 *akçe*. In fact, the previous waqf of her mosque in Chios, operated by 20 attendants with a total daily salary of 117 *akçes*,[19] was comprised within this waqf, as was the fountain in Edirne, and a new waqfiyya for all three buildings was drawn up in 1699 by endowing new income-generating properties and even increasing the wages and the number of attendants of the Chios mosque.[20] Moreover, later postscripts incorporated the operating costs of new fountains and waterways in Galata and the bridges and pavement between Hersek and Boyalıca into the same waqf.[21] Two other postscripts also allocated salaries to the Qur'an reciters and to Kethüda Mehmed Efendi's madrasa's attendants;[22] after this the waqf started to distribute 963 *akçes* daily, alongside other expenses, for the operation of all of the abovementioned philanthropic works.

Consequently, these figures show us that the size of a philanthropic building work never stops with the physical extent of a building or its construction cost, but with the operating costs of the building's hopefully long life; costs were being met with income from bestowed properties, which gives us an idea of the economic cycle necessary to fund philanthropic construction projects. By way of example, Gülnuş Sultan's converted mosque in Kamianets-Podilskyi was run by 12 people, each of whom received a daily sum of 175 *akçes* from either the state treasury or revenue from the fiefs in Podolia.[23] However, both of these figures were less than that of running a soup kitchen in Mecca or in Istanbul. Therefore, in order to make more indicative comparisons, it is essential to designate the operating costs of other waqfs as well.

Comparison of Gülnuş Sultan's Patronage with other Ottoman Royal Women

As we have already traced the architectural sponsorship of previous and later Ottoman royal women in Chapter 2 and Chapter 8, we are now equipped to determine what makes Gülnuş Sultan's buildings unique in construction, financing and expression. However, it is important to designate the boundaries for this comparison in order not to get lost amid the great variety and number of philanthropic works by Ottoman women. We will first compare the locations and symbolism of the buildings, and then concentrate on their architectural aspects, including their style, size, extent, plan type and decorative details. This study will be carried out in chronological order, firstly by detailing Gülnuş Sultan's buildings during her tenure as a favourite, then those after she became Queen Mother; we will then compare them with similar projects of her predecessors first, then of her successors.

It should be noted that the distinction made in Chapter 2 for the building activities before and after Hürrem Sultan will also be important here, and more attention will be paid to the patronage projects of royal women who came after her. As we discussed earlier, she was the 'trend setter' of female patronage in the Ottoman Empire, and she drastically changed the locations, extent and quantity of buildings that royal women could finance. Her privileges as the favourite wife of Süleyman I enabled her to build a mosque complex, two public baths and a khan in Istanbul, as well as other structures in far-flung corners of the empire, all of which directly influenced her successors but could not be easily surpassed; that is, until Gülnuş Sultan.

Comparison with regard to the Locations of Buildings and their Symbolic Meaning

As we know, the philanthropic career of *Haseki* Gülnuş Sultan started with a church-mosque conversion in Kamianets-Podilskyi. It is hard to compare this building with that of other Ottoman women, because the Ottoman tradition of converting religious buildings in conquered cities was to lend new mosques the name of male dignitaries, although Kösem and Turhan Sultan also received a similar honour as Valide Sultan in mid-seventeenth century by lending their names to converted churches in Crete and Uyvar. Gülnuş Sultan was the first favourite who was given this 'honour'. Her participation in the Podolia campaign, accompanying her sultan as his *Haseki*, was a first in

Ottoman history and this exceptional act made her a ‘ghazi’ – a warrior – and deserving of a reward. Concordantly, the unusual gift from Kamianets-Podilskyi can be attributed to Gülnuş Sultan's privileged position in the eyes of Mehmed IV, who allowed her to accompany him during the campaign and presented a building as a prize for her attendance. None of her successors ever enjoyed a similar opportunity due to a lack of subsequent Ottoman conquests and the eventual retraction of the Empire in the following centuries. Therefore she was not only the first but also the last favourite to lend her name to a church-mosque conversion.

Gülnuş Sultan's second patronage project was located in another corner of the Empire, and this was the point where she reached the patronage of Hürrem Sultan. By building a hospital and a soup kitchen in Mecca, creating a supply chain with three storehouses and a cargo ship, and augmenting the already existing facilities with a khan, a primary school and a Qur'an recitation room in and around Mecca, she was the second Ottoman woman to aspire to the protection of the poor within the perimeters of the holiest city of Islam. No Ottoman women had come close to challenging Hürrem Sultan's philanthropic works in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem for more than a century; the fact that she was able to emulate her famous predecessor and the unparalleled favour which she was shown by Süleyman I, reveals Gülnuş Sultan's importance within the court of Mehmed IV and the level of favour in which she was held by her own sultan.

Building in Mecca was an obviously symbolic gesture, and earned its patron the epithet of ‘religious sultana’. Such an epithet was an important political coup for any sultana, and beyond the obvious personal spiritual motivations both women might have had for building in Mecca, earning this epithet amongst the Ottoman subjects would have been a significant boon. This was despite the fact that their buildings were far away from sight of most of Ottoman subjects, which was not the case with of a building in nearby cities or the capital. Nevertheless, once the fact that ‘the wife of the sovereign devoted her fortune for the sake of poor of Mecca’ was publicly known, the reputation it brought had greater dividends than any number of other buildings. Almost two centuries passed before another Ottoman woman embarked on philanthropic works in the holy lands. Bezmialem Sultan built a hospital in Mecca as well as fountains in Medina and Karbala during the period when she became very powerful as Queen Mother to Abdülmecid.[24] The scarcity of patronage in these holy cities makes the achievements of Hürrem, Gülnuş and Bezmialem extremely unusual; it also shows that being the ‘protector of the faith’ was never an easy task and always required

great wealth and power at the centre of the Empire.

Gülnuş Sultan's status changed in 1695, when she became Valide Sultan to her son Mustafa II. Her first patronage project after her son Mustafa II's enthronement took place in reconquered Chios, a campaign in which, this time, she took no part. Similar to conversions in the name of Kösem in Rethymno, and in the name of Hadice Turhan in Heraklion and Uyvar, an automatic procedure in the seventeenth-century Ottoman world was the conversion of one of the most important churches in a conquered city in Valide Sultan's name. Accordingly, she obtained this 'honour' along with Mustafa II and the conqueror of the island, and her name thus became a symbol and representative of the Ottoman state once again. The capture of Chios from the Catholic Venetians and the conversion of the Catholic churches, while leaving Orthodox churches to continue their practices, also reflects the wider context of the time, with the Ottomans at war with the Holy Roman Empire. Catholic conversions were part of the ideological warfare of the time and, in that sense, Gülnuş Sultan was taking part in this 'cold war' by transforming Catholic spaces into Islamic ones.

Another building of Gülnuş Sultan that dates from her first reign as queen mother is the fountain with prayer platform in Edirne, the second capital. Remembering that the court and the Harem moved to Edirne in 1663 during the reign of Mehmed IV, this particular building project could be regarded as a modest gift, expressive of duty and loyalty, to the *de facto* capital. If we also take fountain repairs carried out in the villages surrounding Edirne into account, all of these water works must have aimed at responding to the needs of her subjects; undoubtedly their construction would have resulted in praise for her as a generous royal benefactress. Even though Edirne was the scene of two patronages from previous Ottoman women, namely the mosques of Mehmed II's wives Gülbahar and Sitti *hatun*s, no other royal women had built there since the time of Hürrem Sultan. Interestingly, Hürrem's building concerns had been similar to those of Gülnuş: the provision of water to the local population; like Gülnuş, Hürrem had also constructed new waterways to supply water to Edirne. At the end of Mustafa II's reign, the court returned to Istanbul and female patrons after Gülnuş Sultan tended to neglect the second capital, concentrating instead on Istanbul for their building enterprises.

Due to its direct association with religiosity and piety, building mosque complexes was the most popular architectural activity in the Islamic world, not only for Ottoman royal women, but also for sultans and high male dignitaries. Gülnuş Sultan also actively played her part

in this type of patronage, following in the path opened by her powerful predecessors Hürrem, Nurbanu, Kösem and Turhan Sultans by building two mosques, one in Galata, during the reign of her first son, and another in Üsküdar, during the reign of her second. In doing so, she not only helped to shield her sons from a potential crisis of legitimacy, similar to that which Ahmed I fell into by building the Sultan Ahmed Complex, but she also carried on dynasty's tradition of building imperial mosques in Istanbul, playing the role of patron rather than leaving it to her sons. Moreover, she gained a significant reputation in the eyes of her subjects and the religious elite by transforming her income, which she earned as a Harem member and that which came from her fiefs, into shrines celebrating the holy religion of Islam.

Gülnuş Sultan was the first and the last queen mother to build a mosque in Galata. Moreover, as the mosque replaced a previous church on the site and was located in an area densely populated by non-Muslims, it also served as a tool of a wider Islamization policy, accentuating the symbolic meaning of the edifice. With the construction of the mosque, lands and houses of Christians were expropriated and new houses for Muslim occupants were built in their place, which is clearly reminiscent of Turhan Sultan's Eminönü New Mosque project on the opposite shore of the Golden Horn 35 years before. Turhan Sultan's project had removed a Jewish quarter, replaced some Jewish houses with the houses of mosque attendants, and changed the economic face of the area as jobs changed hands from Jews to Muslims. As Galata was also a commercial centre, similar to Eminönü, both of these transformations stand out as having long-term economic repercussions, helping as they did to break up non-Muslim's monopoly in trade in the area.

We come across another analogy between Turhan and Gülnuş Sultans, when we remember the use of spolia in these mosques. One of the columns supporting the royal pavilion of Eminönü New Mosque was brought from newly conquered Chania in Crete,[25] which made a symbolic statement by drawing attention to the ongoing war against Venetians. Similarly, the columns and stones that still existed after the successive fires which afflicted the San Francesco Monastery were in all likelihood used in Galata New Mosque, reminding the religious congregation of the replacement of a former church with the mosque. The significance of using such spolia highlighted the spatio-religious conquest taking place in the middle of the capital. Gülnuş and Turhan sultans – as well as Safiye, the initiator of Eminönü New Mosque project – could have built their mosques elsewhere in the city, and the Jewish community could have recovered after the 1660 fire in

Eminönü, as could have the Catholics after the 1696 fire in Galata. However, the crises caused by the prolonged siege of Crete and the defeats suffered at the hands of the Holy League necessitated such symbolic appropriations which showed Ottoman subjects that Jewish and Catholic spaces were yielding to Islam at home, therefore playing a part in recovering the authority of the dynasty.[26]

Putting aside the implicit political motivations behind the construction of these mosques, it is striking that the fires in Eminönü and in Galata were used to legitimate the Islamization of the space; contemporary sources regularly attribute fire to the will of God, who was said to be punishing non-Muslims for their 'irregular, sinful lifestyle', a theme, as we have seen, repeated on various inscription panels, replete with Islamic references, associated with both mosques.[27] In both cases, it was a reflection of the *zeitgeist*, since the Kadızadeli movement, which was outwardly hostile to unorthodox Islamic sects and non-Muslims alike, was very popular during the times of both Turhan and Gülnuş. Consequently, Gülnuş played her part in the cold war against Christians that was fought behind the battlefields; similar patronages, other than that of Turhan Sultan, could only be found in previous church conversions in Ottoman Istanbul, such as Fethiye Mosque and Arap Mosque, and had all been carried out by male dignitaries.[28]

Galata New Mosque was accompanied by a monumental fountain adjacent to the main portal of its courtyard built in 1698. Later, responding to an increased need for sweet water when Muslims began to arrive in the neighbourhood, by 1706 Gülnuş had built new waterways and two new fountains, expanding the water network still further by repairing two more fountains and supplying them with water in 1708. No previous Ottoman women had paid attention to water provision or provided Galata with a mosque, but Gülnuş set a trend, and the following Queen Mother, Saliha Sultan, not only built a fountain and a water dispenser in Azapkapı and other fountains in nearby neighbourhoods, but also renovated the Arap Mosque. She went on to play an important role in her son Mahmud I's campaign to bring water to the Galata and Beyoğlu districts of Istanbul in 1732. In this sense, she followed the path that Gülnuş Sultan opened; indeed, in the ensuing years, many subsequent Ottoman women built fountains in the northern side of the Golden Horn. Another powerful Queen Mother, Mihrişah Sultan, participated in construction of new waterways and dams as well in 1790s.

In fact, waterways and fountains were a very popular choice of philanthropic building for Ottoman royal women, especially in Istanbul, whose cityscape remains dotted with many of their

fountains. Interestingly, Üsküdar was a perennially popular site for such structures by Ottoman wives and mothers of sultans. Besides Nurbanu, Kösem and Gülnuş, who all built new waterways and fountains for their complexes, many of their successors built at least one fountain in Üsküdar; some also built a fountain accompanied by a primary school and water dispenser. This 'triple' was widely popular in other neighbourhoods of Istanbul, including Fatih, Aksaray and Beşiktaş. In later years it was often the sole patronage of Ottoman women, up to and including the last Queen Mother, whose fountain and water dispenser was built in Silivrikapı. The wives of the Ottoman sovereigns in particular tended to confine themselves to these water structures, usually inscribing them with their crown princes' names, and hoping to obtain a considerable reputation because of them.

An important act of philanthropy, although not a building activity, was to respond to the needs of pilgrims on the Hajj route, particularly their need for water. Gülnuş Sultan likely took the example of her immediate predecessors Kösem and Turhan when she allocated money for distributing ten camel-loads of water in her will.[29] Moreover, she regularly sent money from the incomes of her waqfs to the poor of Mecca[30], as this was a very popular form of charitable giving among previous and later Ottoman women, including Saliha Sultan. However, Gülnuş Sultan singled herself out with the Kaaba repairs that she financed; all of these acts of philanthropy complemented her image as a pious and benevolent queen mother.

Yet, the most important, and most enduring and unique patronage of Gülnuş Sultan on the Hajj route, that which complemented her pious works in Mecca, was the construction of bridges and pavements between Hersek and Boyalıca, the largest bridge accompanied by a fountain with a prayer platform. Only a few Ottoman women built bridges elsewhere: Nilüfer Hatun in Bursa, Hadice Rami Kadın in Beşiktaş, and the most prestigious one by Bezmialem Sultan on the Golden Horn. Yet these bridges were in or around the capital and the major cities, not in the hinterlands, and their motivations differed from Gülnuş Sultan's in that her project was motivated by the thought of easing the journey of pilgrims and others who needed to use that route. Albeit out of sight for many people, the symbolic meaning of this patronage was powerful and probably meant that she was held in great esteem by those among the pious Muslim population. Moreover, if we imagine that even people coming from Europe and travelling through Anatolia were crossing those bridges, walking on the pavement and drinking the water of the fountain, appreciation of Gülnuş Sultan would have stretched far and wide across the Empire. In the mid-nineteenth century, the bridge of Bezmialem Sultan –

known now as the Galata Bridge – would have had a similar impact among the populace, this time providing an important connective structure which linked the historic old city to Galata, a very important service for the residents of Istanbul. This bridge was crucial to many of the decisions in the modernization period: it facilitated the transition of the court from Topkapı Palace to Dolmabahçe Palace, and in this way, complemented the Westernization efforts of Abdülmecid. Nevertheless, this was a commercial, rather than philanthropic venture: the bridge was a toll bridge for paying customers, not a public bridge for pious pilgrims.

The church conversion that took place in Oran in Gülnuş Sultan's name was a similarly political acquisition. As in previous conversions, she did not play an active role in the architectural alterations, but merely provided symbolic resonance by lending her name, alongside two other Ottoman dignitaries, to a state conquest far from home, playing her part in the Islamization of the frontier. She was the last of the Valide Sultans to convert a church in a conquered city, a 'lucky' circumstance which she achieved three times in her lifetime. Having said that, Oran's location on Africa's Mediterranean coast reminds us of the mosque of Safiye Sultan in Cairo, although Safiye's mosque was a new build rather than a conversion. Nevertheless, it is a noteworthy example of Gülnuş Sultan's oeuvre as no other Ottoman women patronized similar buildings on the continent, and again it reminds us of how many of her projects involved asserting the supremacy of Islam over Christianity.

Beyond any doubt, Gülnuş Sultan's most significant building activity was her Üsküdar Yeni Valide Complex. Similar to the Galata New Mosque, which she built during her elder son Mustafa's reign, the Üsküdar complex was built for symbolism as much for utility and stood as representative of Gülnuş Sultan, the state and her younger son Ahmed III. In this sense, her patronage of religious building projects were the last examples of their kind, a series of mosque complexes built in Istanbul by queen mothers in their son's, the reigning sovereign's, stead. Furthermore, it was the last mosque complex built by a female patron in Üsküdar, a popular scene of women's patronage since the construction of Mihrimah Sultan's complex.[31] Being explicitly identified by Gülnuş Sultan as her desired resting place, the location of the complex perhaps indicates a desire to follow in the tradition of her predecessors, as well as the ever-growing importance of Üsküdar (Plate 15). In the eighteenth century, Üsküdar being, by that time, crowded with imperial mosques, the Ayazma and Beylerbeyi complexes were inserted into the panorama of Asian shore further up the Bosphorus. These complexes were built by two

successive sultans in the name of their late mothers, Mihrişah and Rabia Şermi, respectively, continuing in the tradition of keeping the Asian shore a special space that celebrated the pious dedication of Ottoman royal women.

Thanks to the expropriation of particularly desirable lands on site, the Üsküdar Yeni Valide Complex enjoyed maximum visibility, both from the water and from the European shore of the Bosphorus. This visibility brought it and, by association its patron, many admirers. In this way, the complex very much resembles that of Turhan Sultan's Eminönü New Mosque, especially with the royal pavilion's placement. Both complexes were built to see and be seen: with their pavilions, the royal family were able to gaze upon their subjects and impart their complex message of both proximity and untouchability, so much a part of Ottoman royal authority; with their location, the royal family proclaimed their grandeur and power all over the city, keeping their subjects constantly reminded of their extraordinary wealth, religiosity and benevolence. The Galata New Mosque's pavilion, we may remember, served no such purpose, but rather faced inwards towards the courtyard, an altogether more discreet royal building. Time has proved that in fact the ‘power of the gaze’ encapsulated within the architecture of Turhan and Gülnuş Sultans’ namesake mosques has rendered these buildings some of the most recognizable landmarks in Istanbul, and has placed these buildings on a comparable footing with the extraordinary, male-patronized mosque complexes of Süleymaniye and Sultan Ahmed. In later times, powerful Ottoman women also expanded the imperial vistas of the city further outwards by constructing equally visible mosques. Mihrişah's mosque was located on the northern shore of Golden Horn, Bezmialem's mosque was on the Bosphorus, adjacent to the Dolmabahçe Palace, and Pertevniyal's mosque occupied a central position in Aksaray, a mosque which was even visible from the Marmara Sea.

If we put the tomb of Gülnuş Sultan within her complex into focus, we must note that she was the first and only queen mother to be buried in Üsküdar. Since the reign of Mehmed II, her predecessors and, after her death, her successors were buried inside the Historic Peninsula, either next to their husbands, or in their own tombs, with three exceptions, Mahfiruz, Mihrişah and Rahime Perestü, who were buried in Eyüp. In fact, the tradition of burial sites for royal consorts, wives and Valide Sultans becoming shrines in their own right began with Gülçiçek Hatun's tomb in Bursa at the turn of the fifteenth century, and several others followed in this tradition of being honoured with an ornamental separate from that of their husband or son, such as Gülbahar Hatun or Hürrem Sultan. However, the most

significant tomb of all was the tomb of Hadice Turhan Sultan in Eminönü New Mosque Complex, which also housed the tombs of many other Ottoman sultans and sultanas (Figure 9.1). If Gülnuş had not wished to be buried in Üsküdar, she would most probably have been entombed next to her husband in this grand mausoleum. But in her own lifetime she thwarted this fate and secured a private resting place, securing her own legacy and prayers for her soul from the people of Üsküdar. Of Gülnuş Sultan's successors Şehsuvar, Nakşıdil and Mihrişah also draw special attention for their individual tombs, but only Mihrişah, like Gülnuş, built the tomb herself; Şehsuvar and Nakşıdil's tombs were built by their sons after their death.



Figure 9.1 Hadice Turhan Sultan's tomb; in the backdrop is her Eminönü Complex. The tomb also houses the resting places of her descendants, including Mehmed IV, Mustafa II, Ahmed III, Mahmud I and Osman III (author's photograph, 2016).

The soup kitchen, the primary school, the water dispenser and the fountains of the Üsküdar Complex were probably the most widespread building project of their type financed by preceding or successive Ottoman royal women, with their purely pious nature. Endowing soup kitchens was an especially popular form of patronage among early Ottoman women, who built them alongside zawiyahs, primary schools or mosques in provincial cities such as Bursa, Tokat or Amasya. Gradually, they became a component of larger complexes, such as that within Hafsa Sultan's complex in Manisa, and this tradition was continued by Hürrem in several cities, including Istanbul, Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. Later, Gülfem, Nurbanu and Gülnuş sultans made similar contributions. Yet in the following centuries, as the size of imperial mosque complexes shrank, only Mihrişah was able to include such a resources as part of her complex in Eyüp. As mentioned

above, most of the later Ottoman women usually confined themselves to a ‘triple’, containing a fountain, a primary school and a water dispenser in various corners of Istanbul, probably due to their lesser power or limited financial opportunities.

Having said that, the types and locations of royal Ottoman women's buildings were not all limited to the types we have spent our time discussing. For instance, Hadice Turhan Sultan was unique as a patroness of fortresses, which she built on both shores of Dardanelles, challenging male patrons by erecting these strong defensive structures. We also come across madrasas patronized by several early Ottoman women up until Turhan Sultan's Qur'an school in the Eminönü Complex. However, sometime after the boom of madrasa-building in the seventeenth century, undertaken in particularly by viziers,[32] this type of patronage lost its popularity. Later queen mothers, Bezmialem and Pertevniyal, were modernizers of the madrasa tradition, building the first modern schools in Istanbul, while Bezmialem pioneered buildings of modern nursing and healthcare with hospitals in Istanbul and Mecca.

Royal women also financed palaces, kiosks and other residential buildings for themselves, particularly in Istanbul and Edirne, although many also received such buildings as royal gifts, or inherited them from previous sultanas.[33] They also built income-generating structures such as khans, baths, or shops for their waqfs. However, since these types of buildings were not meant to be ‘purely philanthropic structures which brought them the reputation of religious sultana’, we will exclude them from this comparison as well as the architectural one below.

Architectural Comparison

The three church-mosque conversions that came under Gülnuş Sultan's patronage in Kamianets-Podilskyi, Chios and Oran, were of course neither financed by her nor built by an Ottoman architect, and generally carried characteristics of European architecture, although only the former has survived, the other two having long disappeared. Since these three buildings and the abovementioned converted churches of Kösem and Turhan sultans were not built by Ottoman women, we will exclude them from architectural comparison. Similarly, as Gülnuş Sultan's buildings in Mecca, Jeddah, Sues and Cairo have also disappeared without leaving any material or visual evidence behind, we will also exclude them from this section. Instead, we will concentrate on her fountain with a prayer platform in Edirne, her fountains and mosque in Galata, her surviving bridge on the

pilgrimage road and her complex in Üsküdar, although in so doing we will disregard the timekeeper's place and the royal pavilion, since they carry the hallmarks of nineteenth-century rebuilding.

As we have seen in the previous section, Gülnuş Sultan's fountains in Edirne and Galata maintain a classical style with pointed arched niches and rosettes as basic decorative elements, and both resemble fountains built by previous Ottoman women, such as the fountains of Kösem and Turhan Sultans. However, Turhan Sultan's fountain in Eminönü gives the first indications of decorative changes with its enriched floral relieves, and Gülnuş Sultan's first fountain in Galata develops this innovative turn with its three-dimensionality arising from use of pilasters. But the 'real' change comes with Gülnuş Sultan's first fountain in Üsküdar as described above. This fountain paved the way to the Tulip Period of Ottoman architecture, as almost all the fountains built in the 30 years between Gülnuş Sultan's fountain and the 1740s, including the numerous fountains of Saliha Sultan (Plate 16), were embellished with flowers in vases, fruits in baskets and capped by a shell motif above a band of muqarnas. As the latter half of the eighteenth century witnessed a more drastic deviation from the classical style in Ottoman architecture, fountains became the most numerous and vivid representatives of the new taste, with their baroque design featuring oval and circular shapes and rococo embellishments, such as the fountain of Mihrişah Sultan in Eyüp (Plate 16). Later, in the nineteenth century, the fountains of Bezmialem and Pertevniyal sultans began to represent an eclectic style gathering, neo-classical, neo-baroque and even neo-Ottoman influences together within one piece of architecture (Plate 16).

The evolution of fountains was coherent with the stylistic transformation taking place in other types of Ottoman architecture. As a result, in the years following Gülnuş Sultan's death, Istanbul not only started to host more and more fountains but it began to see the building of monumental water structures, which started to embellish public squares. The first examples were built by Gülnuş Sultan's son Ahmed III, one in front of the main gate of Topkapı Palace and the other in Üsküdar, between his mother's complex and the Bosphorus, which he dedicated to her soul (Figure 9.2). Interestingly, two further examples of this type of fountain were built for Ottoman women after their death: the first was built by Abdülhamid I for his wife Hümaşah in Emirgan, and the second by Selim III for his mother Mihrişah in Küçüksu.

Gülnuş Sultan's surviving bridge in Yalakabad could be stylistically compared with the bridge of Nilüfer Hatun in Bursa. They are both located roughly in the same region, and were designed as totally

functional structures. Both of these bridges resemble each other with their pointed arches and ashlar masonry, although there are more than three centuries between their construction dates. By contrast, Bezmialem Sultan's bridge, which connected Eminönü and Karaköy, was a wooden structure and could only serve its purpose for 18 years. Built using the contemporary techniques of the time, it did not show notable stylistic features, apart from round arches.



Figure 9.2 Monumental fountain in Üsküdar's public square, built by Ahmed III in dedication to his mother Gülnuş Sultan (author's photograph, 2011).

The two mosques of Gülnuş Sultan were so distinct from each other that they should be contrasted with other royal women's mosques separately, rather than as two examples of a coherent stylistic arc. Her mosque in Galata, with its single minaret and modest architecture, showed similarities with Kösem's Çinili Mosque and Hürrem's Haseki Mosque; her mosque in Üsküdar, on the other hand, with its double minarets and its high dome, in its grandiose scale and rendering, has parallels with Hafsa Sultan's mosque in Manisa, Nurbanu's mosque in Üsküdar, Turhan Sultan's mosque in Eminönü, Mihrişah's mosque in Hasköy, Bezmialem's mosque in Dolmabahçe or Pertevniyal's mosque in Aksaray. Accordingly, we will carry out architectural comparisons of Gülnuş Sultan's mosques with these two different groups.

As seen in Chapter 5, Galata New Mosque's understated character was the result of working with several parameters, including the historical context, the surrounding urban setting and economic

constraints, despite the fact that, as a queen mother's mosque, it could therefore have been built with double minarets and a dome. Hürrem Sultan was only a favourite when she built the Haseki Mosque, and this fact must have placed restraints on her building capacities, which was also the case for her immediate successor Gülfem Hatun, who built a hipped-roofed mosque in Üsküdar. Although she was the queen mother, Kösem Sultan also built a relatively modest mosque (Figure 2.4). This peculiarity could be explained by the distant location of the complex at the edge of Üsküdar and the sparse population inhabiting the area around the mosque; we can also speculate that given the insecurity of her sons' political career, the Queen Mother was keen to build quickly and, consequently, with greater modesty.

Hürrem's and Kösem's mosques were cubic structures topped with a single dome, flanked with a single minaret and without a porticoed courtyard, similar to that of Şebsefa Hatun (Figure 8.3). Şebsefa Hatun was a later royal favourite of the eighteenth century who also took advantage of the privileged position she enjoyed within the imperial court and built a mosque. In terms of its style of roof, Gülnuş's mosque was more reminiscent of Gülfem Hatun's mosque, but the limited space and the fact that she was making use of former church land may have restricted Gülnuş in the size of her complex. Şebsefa Hatun's mosque reflected some influence of Ottoman baroque, with its curvilinear details, rounded arches, elevated structure and double-storied portico. All of these other more modest mosques pursued a more classical idiom with pointed arches and traditional ornamentation, and all of them in their restrained simplicity, devoid of a second minaret or a porticoed courtyard, were unlike other imperial mosques.

Gülnuş Sultan's mosque in Üsküdar was also suited to the existing urban setting, but found a completely different architectural expression. Alongside the already existing double-minareted mosque complexes of Mihrimah and Nurbanu, it was similarly confident, grand and decidedly *imperial* (Figure 9.2). In this way, it was also indicative of the warmer political climate of the time, which was more conducive to large-scale expenditures on splendid structures. With this show of self-confidence, she placed herself very much in the tradition of previous queen mothers, starting with Hafsa Sultan in early sixteenth century and continued by later powerful queen mothers up until the nineteenth century. Moreover, in addition to the grandiosity of the mosque and the number of its minarets, the large building programme of the complex puts it on an equal footing with earlier and later spectacular mosque complexes by other Ottoman queen mothers (Figure 9.3).



Figure 9.3 Gülnuş Sultan's Üsküdar Yeni Valide Complex located in proximity to the Üsküdar landing station and Bosphorus (author's photograph, 2016).

Hafsa's mosque in Manisa was the first double-minareted mosque among those built by queen mothers and it was a part of a large complex, larger than that of previous Ottoman women builders. Her granddaughter-in-law Nurbanu was the first queen mother to have a mosque in Istanbul, and it was the largest complex in the capital with ten different buildings serving for several needs of the public, making it 'the premier symbol of the highest status that a *valide* could claim in the Ottoman hierarchy'.[34] Interestingly, the mosque of the complex in Üsküdar was first built with just a single minaret. This was in accordance with Ottoman structures of hierarchy: while Nurbanu was the favourite of Selim II she built but one minaret, but after she became queen mother to Murad III, another minaret was added and mosque was enlarged. Moving forward in Ottoman history, Safiye Sultan's attempt to build a grand mosque in Eminönü was unsuccessful, which, as we may recall, was due to early death of Mehmed III – her son and the source of her power. It was left to Turhan Sultan to complete the aborted construction, and she built the largest mosque of the queen mothers, and adorned it with the grandest imperial mausoleum in the city, alongside other elements. Gülnuş Sultan's complex in Üsküdar neither surpassed the extent of Nurbanu's complex, nor was its mosque larger than that of Turhan; but it was a continuation of the same tradition and was later followed by three more examples provided by Queen Mothers Mihrişah,

Bezmialem and Pertevniyal.

When we put the architectural features of these mosque complexes under focus, we observe that classical Ottoman style rather *evolved* in expression with Gülnuş Sultan's mosque in Üsküdar, while an abrupt stylistic change took place with Mihrişah Sultan's mosque, showing distinct Ottoman baroque influences. A still-more significant deviation arises with Bezmialem and Pertevniyal's eclectic mosques (Figure 8.3 and Figure 8.4), which gathered neo-classical, neo-baroque, neo-Ottoman and neo-Gothic influences together. While the mosques of Nurbanu, Turhan and Gülnuş were transversally larger structures, roofed by domes carried on piers and columns supported with exedras or semi-domes, Mihrişah's, Bezmialem's and Pertevniyal's mosques were single-domed, cubical structures, bordered and partly carried by their own transparent walls. They were also fronted by royal pavilions, an architectural feature common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which were usually attached to the eastern walls.

Nevertheless, slight stylistic changes and transitions can be observed in Turhan's and Gülnuş's mosques: the emphasis on vertical thrust became stronger in these two imperial mosques and the use of floral decoration on the fountains in the middle of the courtyard became more vivid and three-dimensional, with Gülnuş's even containing flowers in vases. However, while Turhan's complex continues the Ottoman classical tradition of extensive use of tiles all around the mosque's interior, in the royal pavilion and on the portico, Gülnuş Sultan's mosque features only limited tile work only around the mihrab niche. In later Ottoman mosques, tile work totally vanishes and all the imperial mosques of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries instead feature baroque and rococo embellishments.

The tombs of these two consecutive complexes also represent a sharp contrast: while the former is in fact the largest imperial mausoleum of Ottoman history, housing the graves of several Ottoman sultans and royal women, and is richly decorated with tiles with a large dome roof, the latter is elegant and light with an open top, more transparent and much smaller, only hosting Gülnuş Sultan's grave. The decoration of her tombstone, a shell motif topped with a band of muqarnas, reminds us the fountain of the complex, signalling the approaching Tulip Period style (Figure 7.9) The tombs of later Ottoman women, however, such as Şehsüvar, Mihrişah (Figure 8.2), Nakşıdil and Pertevniyal, represent a sharper deviation, heavily affected as they were by Ottoman baroque.

The ancillary buildings of Gülnuş Sultan's Üsküdar complex represent a continuation of classical Ottoman style and do not show

any difference from similar buildings of previous royal women's complexes, such as Hürrem's or Nurbanu's. Using ashlar and brick, the building materials express to their users and the public that they are subordinate to the royal mosque or tomb of the complex, which were mainly built of cut-stone or marble (Figure 7.12). A later example of a soup kitchen within Mihrişah Sultan's complex in Eyüp represents the influences of Ottoman baroque with its round arches and multi-layered mouldings, although it was made of the same materials (Figure 8.2). However, examples of primary schools as early as Hürrem Sultan's and as late as Mihrişah Sultan's, do not show significant deviations. Being relatively small in size, they were not the focus of attention in the layout of complexes, yet Gülnuş Sultan's primary school above the main gate of Üsküdar Complex offers a novel and brilliant solution for the placement of these subordinate structures (Figure 7.10).

In conclusion, Gülnuş Sultan's buildings perpetuated the unwritten rules of Ottoman architectural hierarchy, obeying the constraints of the time and thus simultaneously securing and expressing her power cleverly. At the same time, they reflected the architectural transition from classical Ottoman to high baroque Ottoman style. Some of her buildings did have innovations, but these were limited and organic, and were not risky or abrupt ruptures with the established architectural traditions. All in all, Gülnuş's architectural legacy was one of the most extended of all Ottoman royal women, both in quality and in quantity, with her overarching patronage continuing the tradition of her forerunners while simultaneously supplying a model for future generations.

CHAPTER 10

EPILOGUE: DETERMINANTS OF OTTOMAN ROYAL WOMEN'S BUILDING ACTIVITIES

While concluding this monograph, let us remember fundamental questions that have challenged us: what kind of parameters determined the emergence and extent of Ottoman royal women's building activities? Where, when and what did they build? What kind of a patronage policy did they have, if indeed they had one? How did their patronages evolve throughout the long history of the Ottoman Empire from the fourteenth century to the twentieth century? And how would a *typical* Ottoman royal woman, a favourite or a queen mother, carry out her architectural patronage? Answers to these questions would help us decipher the common factors conditioning their patronages and allow us to easily observe transitions and innovations. They could also help us bring to life an anonymous sultana's building activity.

In order to find answers to the above questions, this book has surveyed the history of Ottoman royal women's building activities by putting the patronage of Gülnuş Sultan into focus. By doing so, we have homed in on a central point of the chronology of favourites and queen mothers (Appendix 6) and found an ideal sample for determining locations and typologies, and for analyzing the motivations behind patronages and philanthropic building projects. Indeed, Chapters 3 to 7, which each dealt with a separate building project of Gülnuş Sultan, individually laid bare the different aspects of royal women's patronage as well as illuminating one or more fundamental aspects of Ottoman architectural history. For instance, in Chapter 3, we met a favourite who participated in a military campaign and gave her name to a converted church in a conquered city, for the first and the last time in the Ottoman world. At the same time, we discovered how the architectural transformation of a church-mosque conversion took place, which can provide a template for the analysis of other historical conversions. Similarly in Chapter 4, with the example of Gülnuş Sultan's hospital and soup kitchen in Mecca, we learnt how waqf institutions worked and how the operation of waqf

buildings and their sustainability were maintained in the background, transferring the product of Gülnuş Sultan's fiefs in Egypt to the holy city of Mecca. We not only discovered hitherto-unknown buildings of Gülnuş Sultan, but we also explored why the holiest city of Islam proved such an attractive location for a *Valide Sultan*, looking to ingratiate herself among her son's pious subjects.

By comparing and contrasting the building activities of Gülnuş Sultan with previous and later Ottoman royal women's patronages, we reached important conclusions in Chapter 9. For instance, we observed that queen mothers, who used to build firstly in and around Bursa and then in the name of their princes in the provinces such as Amasya or Manisa before the sedentarization of the sultanate, often took over the role of patronage in Istanbul from their reigning sons. Since none of the sovereigns from Süleyman I to Mahmud I dared to build in the capital, they left this duty and representation of the dynasty to their mothers Nurbanu, Safiye, Kösem, Turhan and finally Gülnuş Sultan, who indeed extended the so-called 'sultanate of women'. On the other hand, after sovereigns again chose to become patrons of splendid mosques in Istanbul, only three powerful women, Mihrişah, Bezmialem and Pertevniyal, embarked on mosque-building activities alongside their sons.

However, in order to be more specific and systematic while answering above questions rather than offering general and casual observations, we need to set the determinants of the extent of Ottoman royal women's patronages. I contend that the following four parameters significantly affected building activities of Ottoman women: the status of the sultana (concubine, favourite, queen mother, or sister/daughter of the sovereign[1]), the length of tenure (that is, the duration that a royal woman occupied a rank), the established affiliation practices (for example, building in the name of *şehzade* or reigning sultan), and the historical context (the political, economic, social, military constraints of the time).

The status of the sultana was directly dependent on the strength of her relationship with the sovereign and this in turn affected the extent of her patronage. If she was only a concubine without a child, she would not be afforded the opportunity of patronizing any kind of building until she gave birth to an offspring (preferably a boy) of the sovereign. These were the unwritten rules valid for women of slave origin, that is, those brought to the Harem from a non-Muslim country; by contrast wives of the early Ottoman sovereigns who came from neighbouring Muslim states (for example, Hafsa Hatun, daughter of the Aydınoğlu Principality Leader, İsa Bey) did build before giving birth to a child, and clearly felt less of a need to consolidate their

dignified status by performing extensive acts of patronage. A concubine became a favourite after giving birth to a prince, simultaneously confirming the continuity of the dynasty and securing her own status at the top of the Ottoman hierarchy; she would then have increased opportunity *and* income (with her increased stipend[2] and/or with fiefs presented to her after the birth) to pursue architectural patronage projects of her own. The intimacy of the favourite with the sovereign was of course an important determinant in the financial independence afforded to her, as exemplified by Hürrem Sultan's and Gülnuş Sultan's extensive patronages. Nevertheless, the real patronage career of Ottoman royal women started after they became the queen mother and gained substantive political power; having achieved this elevated status, the building activities of several queen mothers eclipsed those of their own reigning sons.

Therefore, while answering the question 'When did Ottoman women embark building activities?' we should pay attention to their status in the Harem ranks. For instance, Gülnuş Sultan gave her name to prestigious buildings as the favourite of Mehmed IV, since she was as precious in the eyes of her husband as Hürrem Sultan, the pioneer of favourites' extensive patronages, had been to Süleyman. Concordantly, Nurbanu Sultan started the construction of her complex in Üsküdar after she was *guaranteed* to become queen mother, that is, when her son Murad was declared heir apparent, and completed her complex and enlarged her mosque by adding a second minaret after she *became* queen mother. Safiye, Kösem and Turhan Sultans' building activities started only when they became queen mothers, since another important parameter – the historical context – was equally decisive in their times. Nevertheless, later Ottoman women, such as the favourites of Ahmed III, Mahmud I or Osman III, did build, but they built modest buildings such as fountains and primary schools. It should also be noted that Mahmud I, Osman III and Selim III were childless sultans, and the scarcity of their wives' building activities and the absence of queen mothers following their reigns could be explained in this way.

The length of tenure either as a favourite or as a queen mother was another important parameter that determined the extent and quantity of building activities of Ottoman women. Tenure of a royal woman was not solely dependent on the age at which that she was brought to Harem, or indeed her life expectancy. What was important was the length of the reign of her son, or her husband, the source of her power. Many favourites enjoyed only very short tenures, since their husbands were dethroned or passed away after a brief reign, and

several others could not become queen mother because their sons died or were killed very early. Some women passed away before their sons' enthronement – such as Hatice Muazzez or Rabia Şermi – while some others died shortly after becoming queen mother – such as Handan or Şehsuvar: others enjoyed only very brief tenures – such as Halime or Şevkefza (Appendix 6). In these cases, the building activities of royal women were either very limited or non-existent. On the other hand, long reigns of sovereigns also brought long tenures for some exceptional favourites – such as Hürrem or Gülnuş – and mighty queen mothers – such as Kösem or Hadice Turhan; accordingly, these tenures yielded extensive patronages.

Hürrem Sultan was undoubtedly a 'trend-setter' for women's patronage, not only because Süleyman I considered her to be so precious, but also because of longevity: she was his companion for 37 years of his 46-year reign. Similarly, Gülnuş Sultan was the favourite of Mehmed IV for 23 years, as Mehmed was the second-longest reigning sultan after Süleyman I. As the length of these two *lucky* favourites coincided with good fortunes for the Empire, the result was rich and significant patronages. On the other hand, two successive harem members, Kösem and Hadice Turhan, occupied the seat of queen mother for 25 years each, the former witnessing the reigns of both of her sons (plus the first three years of her grandson), and the latter gaining the title at a very young age and when her son was only a child. Their successor Gülnuş Sultan also saw enthronement of both of her sons and, at 20 years, enjoyed the third-longest tenure of a queen mother in the *longue duree* of the Ottoman Empire. All three women were members of the so-called 'sultanate of women', due to their increased involvement in state politics, and they financed extensive architectural projects thanks to their long tenures and privileged positions of power.

Yet another determinant of Ottoman women's patronage was the established building practices of the time, which were handed over from generation to generation and taken as examples by successive generations. But building practices also evolved significantly in accordance with the changing political constraints and dynastic regulations. For instance, in the first two formative centuries of the Ottoman Empire, building in the name of the crown prince in the provincial capital was popular among favourites. However, after the 'sedentarization of the sultanate' and the centralization of Ottoman governance, Istanbul became the ideal setting for the building activities of Ottoman women, as their involvement in court practices also increased. Moreover, Ahmed I's change of succession rule contributed to women's power and eventually gave way to queen

mothers' direct governance in the seventeenth century, especially when their sons were very young or ill-equipped to govern. This significant change brought about a richer architectural patronage of queen mothers, even more than that of their sons. The same century also witnessed the conversion of churches into mosques in the conquered lands in the name of queen mothers and, uniquely in the name of a favourite, Gülnuş Sultan.

In the last two centuries of the Ottoman Empire, women's superiority in patronage was handed back to sovereigns, who started to finance their complexes in the capital and elsewhere as in the Empire's Golden Age – the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries – although two sultans, Mustafa III and Abdülhamid I, opted to name mosque complexes after their mothers. Women of the Harem, especially favourites, gradually stepped back from large-scale building activities, and confined themselves to building modest structures rather than large complexes. However, some powerful queen mothers of this period of westernization complemented their sons' efforts both politically and architecturally. While the sovereigns were building new water structures, palaces, or mosques in the capital, their mothers were supporting the modernization of the city with similar buildings, or even new types of buildings, such as modern hospitals and education institutes. Perhaps these queen mothers saw their pioneer predecessors as role models, although women's role in politics and patronage significantly decreased in the last half century of the Empire. During this final period, women only rarely found opportunities to build, firstly due to the increased power of the sovereign, which rose to levels of despotism in sovereigns like Abdülhamid II, then as a result of constitutionalist efforts, which attempted to fundamentally alter the essence of the Ottoman imperial hierarchy. The final nail in the coffin was a series of destructive wars which decimated the treasury and resulted in lost territory.

Although it is often difficult to isolate it from the aforementioned three parameters – especially the last one – the historical context deserves to be a single-standing determinant of Ottoman women's patronage, and indeed, it was probably the most decisive one. Being a warrior empire from its very beginnings and financially dependent on the spoils of successful campaigns, the Ottomans were at war for most of their 600-year rule and for this reason were always badly affected both politically and economically after military defeats. Fiscal crises and uprisings following wartime failures almost became a norm by the late sixteenth century, and this instability often hindered the ceremonial building activities of the royal family. It was during this period, especially in the seventeenth century, when queen mothers

took over the role of architectural patronage and built instead of their sons, who refrained from spending state treasure in the absence of military victories. It is interesting that we do not come across any male dignitary, sovereigns or viziers, who built more than the powerful *valide sultans* of the period. Kösem, Turhan and Gülnuş surpassed their sons and other statesmen of the time, both in quantity and extent of building activities, and the same constraints also forced favourites to refrain from building and wait until they gain the ultimate status possible as an Ottoman woman: Queen Mother.

Historical conditions also shaped the patronage of Gülnuş Sultan's long tenure, as during this period she witnessed many turbulent years of Ottoman history. For instance, Gülnuş Sultan was lucky enough to witness several conquests during her terms in power, which, as we know, resulted in church conversions. Later Ottoman women, who lived in a period when Ottoman territories were continuously shrinking, were not afforded that opportunity, and nor were those royal women who preceded Kösem, who lived in a time when only the name of male dignitaries were given to converted churches in the conquered lands. On the other hand, although as the royal favourite Gülnuş became the highest-ranking member of the Harem after Turhan Sultan's death in 1683, she could not embark on any building activities in the remaining four years of her tenure as *Haseki*, since the Ottoman Empire was suffering from military defeats after the unsuccessful siege of Vienna. Similar singular events, such as dethronements, peace treaties or declarations of war, or indeed long-term issues such as social and religious currents, for instance the significance the Kadızadeli movement played, or the demand for water due to increases in the urban population, or simply the need to distract the populace from various political or economic crises were determining factors in shaping the patronages of Ottoman royal women.

After investigating these four parameters, let us imagine an anonymous Ottoman royal woman, who was first a favourite, than a queen mother. If this imaginary woman was living in the first two centuries of the Ottoman Empire, she would have built a zawiyah, a soup kitchen, both, or some other structure, preferably in the provinces; the building style may have lacked confidence or opulence, but the symbolism of the act would have been instrumental in representing herself and her son. If she was living in the last two centuries of the Empire, than she would have confined herself to smaller structures such as fountains or primary schools. If she was lucky enough to witness victories and prosperous times, such as the time of Hürrem Sultan, she would have built a mosque complex,

baths, khans, and other structures in the capital and elsewhere, as well as philanthropic structures in the Holy Lands, especially in Mecca, in order to show her level of piety. After becoming Queen Mother, she would have built in greater quantity and in extent, and she would have built larger complexes in the third capital – Istanbul – in the name of her son, or she might have lent her name to a converted church in a conquered city. If she was a queen mother in the last century of the empire, she would have complemented her son's architectural enterprises with similar and equally extensive buildings in the capital, with dams, bridges, hospitals, mosques, waterways, palaces and so on.

Gülnuş Sultan was lucky that she was to combine the most auspicious circumstances and most innovative visions of these imaginary Ottoman royal women. She was clearly also very clever, as she knew how to attract a sovereign almost for a lifetime, was able to guarantee her own place in the palace and, ultimately, was able to consolidate her future career by means of her sons. She was in all likelihood an intellectual; her travels in Europe and her involvement in state politics, especially during her sons' reigns may well have influenced the policy and direction of the Ottoman dynasty. Her ambitions to finance architectural structures all over the Empire, meant her name was heard from Kamianets-Podilskyi to Oran, from Mecca to Chios, from Edirne to Istanbul. The buildings of Gülnuş Sultan still whisper her name, and entice locals and visitors to those of her beautiful structures still standing. They remind us of how powerful Ottoman women could be, helping us challenge long-held views of their status as passive and submissive agents. Gülnuş Sultan, a remarkable example of a woman who, as a child, was captured from her Cretan homeland and who, as an adult, rose to the highest echelons of the Harem. By the time of her death, through her patronage, her innovation and her philanthropy, she had left an indelible mark upon the Ottoman world.

APPENDICES

1. The list of Gülnuş Sultan's buildings and repairs

*Buildings (nonextant buildings are marked with *)*

Kamianets-Podilskyi (1672)

1 mosque converted from a church

Mecca (1678, partly rebuilt in 1686)

* 1 soup kitchen (+ horse mill + bakery)

* 1 hospital

* 1 primary school + Qur'an recitation room

Suez (1678)

* 1 storehouse

Bulak (near Cairo, 1678)

* 1 storehouse

Jeddah (1683)

* 1 khan (with 8 storage rooms, probably replacing a previous storehouse)

* 5 houses

* 1 primary school

* 6 shops

Chios (1695)

* 1 mosque converted from a church

* 1 fountain

* 6 shops (1 coffee roasting shop, 2 two wax-making shops, 3 other shops)

* 3 cellars

* 1 house

Edirne (1696)

1. fountain with prayer platform

Galata (1698–1706)

* 1 mosque (+ royal pavilion)

* 5 fountains

* 2 imams' houses

* 7 two-storey houses (for rent)

* 2 cellars

Hersek-Boyalıca (1704–6)

12 bridges (constructed or repaired, 1 is three-arched)

* 1 fountain with prayer platform

* The pavement between Hersek and Boyalıca

Oran (1708)

* 1 mosque converted from a church

Üsküdar (1711)

1 mosque (+ royal pavilion)

1 soup kitchen

1 primary school

2 fountains

1 water dispenser

1 tomb

9 shops

1 tomb-keeper's room

* 2 imams' houses

*Repairs (nonextant buildings are marked with *)*

Menemen

* 15 fountains (1 mosque fountain, 1 water dispenser, 13 fountains)

Kastamonu

1 mosque (Nasrullah Efendi Mosque)

Edirne

* 1 fountain in Akpınar Village

* 1 fountain on the way to Çömlek Village

* 1 waterway of a fountain near Turna Hill and pool of a nearby garden

Mecca

* Roof of the Kaaba, stairs inside it and the nearby *Hicr-i İsmail*

* House of Hazreti Hatice (wife of Prophet Muhammed)

* Door curtains of the Kaaba and nearby stone-monument of Prophet Abraham (1699)

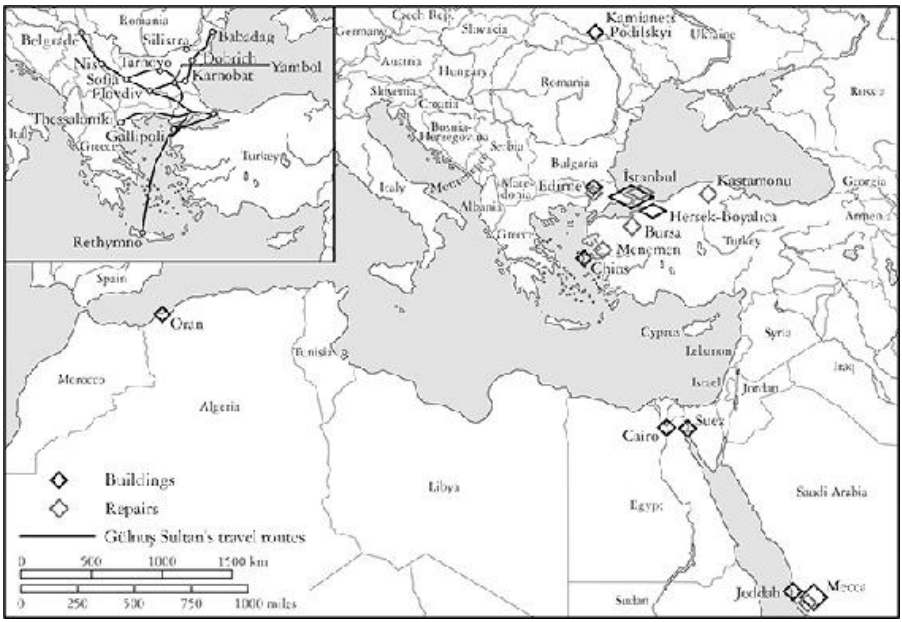
Anadoluhisarı

* Yasemin Hatun public bath

Bursa

Waterways of Vani Mehmed Efendi Mosque, madrasa and soup kitchen in Kestel

2. The map of Gülnuş Sultan's buildings' locations and routes of her travels



3. Table of Gülnuş Sultan's waqfiyyas (endowment deeds) and their postscripts

Waqfiyya/Postscript	Date (AH / AD)	Location of documents	Explanation
Waqfiyya of the soup kitchen and the hospital in Mecca (1st waqfiyya)	27 Ramazan 1090/ 1 November 1679	VGMA register no: 143, 1–78, and register no: 2138, 1–6	Stipulates the management of the soup kitchen and the hospital in Mecca.
Postscript to the 1st waqfiyya	9 Cemaziyelahir 1093 / 15 June 1682	VGMA register no: 143, 79–89, and register no: 2138, 7–8	Stipulates the recitation of Qur'an at the hospital in Mecca.
Waqfiyya of the mosque in Chios (2nd waqfiyya)	2 Muharrem 1109 / 21 July 1697	TSMK Y. 3510, 1–34	Stipulates the management of the mosque in Chios.
Waqfiyya of the mosques in Chios and Galata and the fountain in Edirne (3rd waqfiyya)	29 Şevval 1110 / 30 April 1699	VGMA register no: 1640, 1–14, and register no: 1641, 1–34	Stipulates the management of the mosques in Chios and Galata and the fountain in Edirne.
1st postscript to the 3rd waqfiyya	5 Rebiyülahir 1112 / 19 September 1700	VGMA register no: 1640, 17–20	Stipulates the management of the wax-making and coffee-roasting shops in Chios and newly built houses around Galata New Mosque, as well as Qur'an reciters there.
2nd postscript to the 3rd waqfiyya	1 Ramazan 1116 / 28 December 1704	VGMA register no: 1640, 21, and register no: 1641, 35–6	Stipulates the management of the pavement and bridges between Hersek and Boyalıca.
3rd postscript to the 3rd waqfiyya	1 Recep 1120 / 16 September 1708	VGMA register no: 1640, 22–3	Stipulates the management of the fountains in Galata and of the waterways supplying them; also, the management of the New Mosque's ablution fountains.
4th postscript to the 3rd waqfiyya	25 Cemazeyilevvel 1123 / 11 July 1711	VGMA register no: 1640, 24–5	Stipulates sending money to Mecca and Medina, and meeting the expenses of Kethüda Mehmed Efendi's Hadith madrasa and primary school in Galata.
Waqfiyya of the complex in Üsküdar (4th waqfiyya)	17 Cemazeyilevvel 1123 / 3 July 1711	VGMA register no: 1640, 27–45	Stipulates the management of Üsküdar Yeni Valide Complex.

4. Table of expenses of building activities of Gülnuş Sultan

Related Building	Archival document / waqfiyya	Total attendants	Total payment (d: daily, y: yearly)
Mosque in Kamianets-Podilskyi	BOA MAD 4559/2	12	175 *akçe* (d)
Soup kitchen in Mecca	1st waqfiyya	28	100 pairs of bread + 205 *para* (d)
Hospital in Mecca	1st waqfiyya	55	126 pairs of bread + 261 *para* (d)
Storehouse in Jeddah	1st waqfiyya	5	9 pairs of bread (d) + 12 *para* (d) for these, 1000 *para* (y) for two
Other waqf attendants in Mecca, Jeddah, Sues and Bulak	1st waqfiyya	31	113250 *para* + 680 *erdeb* wheat (y)
Other expenses of Mecca waqf	1st waqfiyya	–	401218 *para* (y)
Qur'an reciters in Mecca hospital	1st postscript to 1st waqfiyya	33	70 *para* (d)
Mosque in Chios	2nd waqfiyya	20	117 *akçe* (d)
Other expenses of Chios mosque	2nd waqfiyya	–	14840 *akçe* (y)
Mosque in Chios	3rd waqfiyya	27	229 *akçe* (d)
Galata New Mosque	3rd waqfiyya	53	456 *akçe* (d)
Fountain in Edirne	3rd waqfiyya	1	5 *akçe* (d)
Qur'an reciters in Galata New Mosque	1st postscript to 3rd waqfiyya	32	93 *akçe* (d)
Ketḫüdā Mehmed Efendi's ḥadīth madrasa and primary school	4th postscript to 3rd waqfiyya	–	180 akçe (d)
Üsküdar Yeni Valide Complex	4th waqfiyya	150	1210 akçe (d)

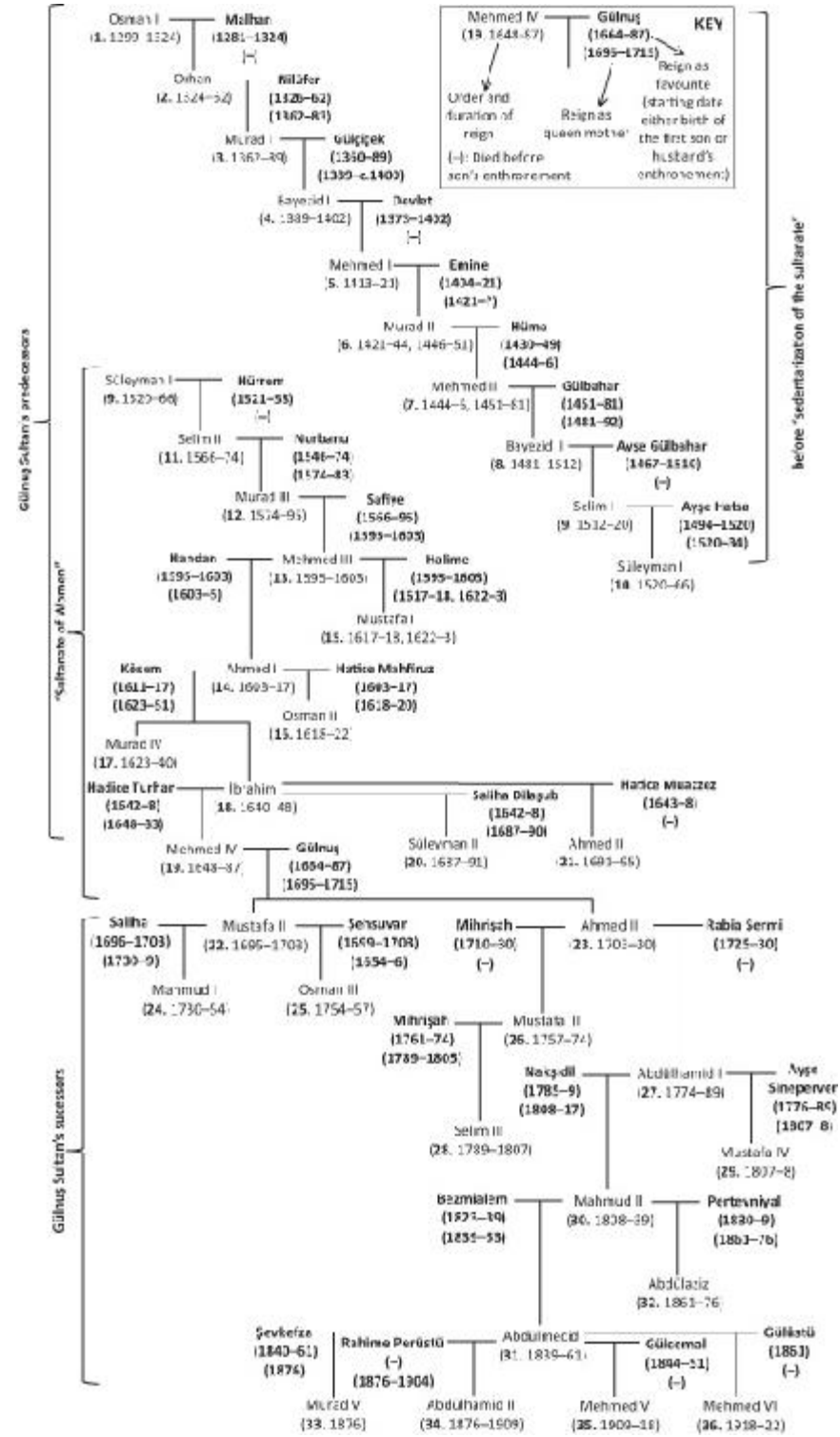
5. Table of expenses of building activities of Gülnuş Sultan

Construction / repair / reconnaissance survey	Date	Cost	Archival source material	Expense type: Construction	Repair	Extension	Expropriation	Equivalent cost in *guruş**
Construction of khan, primary school and five houses in Jeddah	1682–3	13,004 *zerîfi* gold coins	TSMA E. 0020 0020 001			+		5,779.6
Construction of Qur'an recitation room in the hospital in Mecca	1683	1,735 *zerîfi* gold coins	TSMA E. 0020 0020 002			+		771.1
Reconnaissance survey for the repair of soup kitchen and hospital in Mecca.	7 December 1683	10,000 *zerîfi* gold coins	TSMA E. 33/4 (TSMA E. 0020 0017 001); TSMA E. 33/6a (TSMA E. 0020 0019 001); TSMA E. 0020 0025 001					4,444.4
Repair of the soup kitchen and the hospital in Mecca	21 August 1684–16 December 1686	5,908 *zerîfi* gold coins and 26 *para-i Mekkî*	BOA TS.MA.d 1400		+			2,625.8
Reconnaissance survey for the repair of storehouse at the Bulak landing station, near Cairo	before 1698	26 *Misri* purses and 19,468 *para*	TSMA E. 0020 0044 001					16,736.7
Repair of storehouse at the Bulak landing station, near Cairo	April 1697 – February 1698	13 purses 7,793 *para*	BOA TS.MA.d 2841		+	+		8,319.8
Repair of the mosque, ablution fountain and shops, and expropriation of a non-muslim's house in Chios	after 1700	352,273 *akçe*	TSMA E. 79/8		+		+	2,935.5
Reconnaissance survey for the construction of Galata New Mosque and its waterways	28 September 1696	1,517,755 *akçe*	BOA AE. SMST.II. 140 15533					12,648
Construction of Galata New Mosque, waterways and fountain	23 April 1697 – 10 July 1698	4,855,871 *akçe*	BOA İE.EV. 26 3019	+			+	40,465.6
Rebuilding of Galata New Mosque's minaret and other repairs	August / September 1700	1,215 *guruş*	TSMA E. 79/3		+			1,215
Galata New Mosque's courtyard extension and latrines rebuilding	August / September 1700	2,124 *guruş*	TSMA E. 79/3		+	+		2,124
Galata New Mosque's courtyard extension for building two imam houses, seven two-storey courtyard-houses and two cellars	–	170,808 akçe	TSMA 79/6			+	+	1,423.5
Building two imam houses next to Galata New Mosque	1699/1700	168,507 *akçe*	TSMA 79/4			+		1,407.5
Building seven two-storey courtyard-houses next to Galata New Mosque	1699/1700	403,280 *akçe*	TSMA 79/4			+		3,360.5
Building seven two-storey courtyard-houses next to Galata New Mosque	1699/1700	155,975 *akçe*	TSMA 79/4			+		1,300
Decoration of the royal pavilion and platform of Galata New Mosque	1699/1700	357.5 *guruş*	TSMA E. 0101 0002 029		+			357.5
Construction of the fountain in Emekyemez neighbourhood	1699/1700	439 *guruş*	TSMA E. 0101 0002 029	+			+	439
Extension for waterways in Galata	1699/1700	757.5 *guruş*	TSMA E. 0101 0002 029			+		757.5
Repair of waterways in Galata	1699/1700	199.5 *guruş*	TSMA E. 0101 0002 029		+			199.5
Reconnaissance survey for the new waterways for Galata New Mosque and fountains	1 June 1705	1,973,750 *akçe*	TSMA E. 0101 0002 037					16,447

Construction of the new waterways for Galata New Mosque and fountains	8 May 1705 – 15 May 1706	2,666,373 *akçe*	TSMA E. 0101 0002 022	+		22,220
Construction of Yalakabad Bridge and fountain with a prayer platform	24 September 1706	1,470,122 *akçe*	BOA AE. SAMD III 222 21464	+		12,251
Construction of pavements and bridges between Hersek and Boyalıca	1706 (?)	1,796,901 *para*	BOA MAD d. 23035	+	+	44,922.5
Repair of two fountains in Yağkapanı and around Cameşur Hasan Neighbourhood in Galata	21 May 1708	386,241 *akçe*	TSMA E. 0101 0002 021		+	3,208.5
Repair of the fountains and their waterways in Menemen	1700/01	6,365 *guruş*	TSMA E. 7991		+	6,365
Repair of the Nasrullah Efendi Mosque in Kastamonu	1701/02	844,411 *akçe*	TSMA E.7979		+	7,037
Repair of the double bath in Anadoluhisarı	1708–10	94,296 *akçe*	TSMA E. 0101 0002 031		+	786
Repair of the waterways of Vani Mehmed Efendi's mosque, madrasa and soup kitchen in Kestel, Bursa	–	1,097 *guruş*	TSMA E. 0101 0020 046		+	1,097
Construction of Üsküdar Yeni Valide Complex (?)	1708–11	846 purses and 131 *guruş*	TSMA E. 0101 0002 002	+		423,131
Reconnaissance survey for the waterways of Üsküdar Yeni Valide Complex	1708 (?)	11,069 *guruş* and 70 *akçe*	TSMA E. 0101 002 036			11,069
Extension for the waterways of Üsküdar Yeni Valide Complex	5 November 1714 – 11 November 1715	3,136,920 *akçe*	BOA İE. EV. 54 5948		+	26,141
Repair of the waterways of a fountain and a garden pool near Tırna Hill, Edirne	1712/13	187,600 *akçe*	TSMA E 125/249 (E 88/27–1)	+		1,563.3

*During Mehmed IV's reign:
1 *şerîfi* gold coin = 270 *akçe*
1 *şerîfi* gold coin = 2.25 *guruş*
1 para = 3 akçe
1 guruş = 40 para
1 guruş = 120 akçe
1 purse = 500 guruş
1 *Mısrî* purse = 25,000 para
1 *yük* = 100,000

6. Chronology of Ottoman queen mothers and favourites


KEY
Order and duration of reign
Reign as queen mother
Reign as favourite (starting date either birth of the first son or husband's enthronement)
(–): Died before son's enthronement
before "sedentarization of the sultanate"
Gülnuş Sultan's predecessors
"Sultanate of Women"
Gülnuş Sultan's successors
Osman I (1. 1299–1324)
Malhun (1281–1324)
Orhan (2. 1324–62)
Nilüfer (1320–62) (1360–81)
Murad I (3. 1362–89)
Gülçiçek (1350–89) (1389–c.1403)
Bayezid I (4. 1389–1402)
Devlet (1373–1432)
Mehmed I (5. 1413–21)
Emine (1434–?1) (1421–?)
Murad II (6. 1421–44, 1446–51)
Hümo (1430–49) (1444–6)
Süleyman I (9. 1520–66)
Hürrem (1521–55)
Selim II (11. 1566–74)
Nurbanu (1546–74) (1574–83)
Murad III (12. 1574–95)
Safiye (1566–95) (1595–1605)
Mehmed II (7. 1444–5, 1451–81)
Gülbahar (1451–81) (1481–90)
Bayezid II (8. 1481–1512)
Ayse Gülbahar (1467–1515) (–)
Selim I (9. 1512–20)
Ayşe Hafsa (1494–1520) (1520–38)
Süleyman I (10. 1520–66)
Mehmed III (13. 1595–1603)
Handan (1595–1603) (1603–5)
Halime (1595–1605) (1617–18, 1622–3)
Mustafa I (15. 1617–18, 1622–3)
Ahmed I (14. 1603–17)
Hatice Mahfiruz (1603–17) (1618–20)
Osman II (15. 1618–22)
Kösem (1611–17) (1623–51)
Murad IV (17. 1623–40)
Hadice Turfan (1642–8) (1648–53)
İbrahim (18. 1640–48)
Saliha Dilaşub (1642–8) (1687–90)
Hatice Muazzez (1643–8) (–)
Mehmed IV (19. 1648–87)
Gülnuş (1664–87) (1695–1715)
Süleyman II (20. 1687–91)
Ahmed II (21. 1691–95)
Saliha (1696–1703) (1730–9)
Mustafa II (22. 1695–1703)
Şensuvar (1669–1708) (1654–6)
Mahmud I (24. 1730–54)
Osman III (25. 1754–57)
Mihrişah (1710–30) (–)
Ahmed III (23. 1703–30)
Rabia Sermi (1725–30) (–)
Mihrişah (1761–74) (1789–1805)
Mustafa III (26. 1757–74)
Selim III (28. 1789–1807)
Nakşidil (1785–9) (1808–17)
Abdülhamid I (27. 1774–89)
Ayşe Sineperver (1776–8?) (1807–8)
Mustafa IV (29. 1807–8)
Bezmialem (1823–49) (1855–53)
Mahmud II (30. 1808–39)
Pertevniyal (1830–9) (1853–76)
Abdülaziz (32. 1861–76)
Şevkefza (1840–61) (1876)
Rahime Perüstü (–) (1876–1904)
Abdülmecid (31. 1839–61)
Gülcemal (1894–51) (–)
Gülüstü (1853) (–)
Murad V (33. 1876)
Abdülhamid II (34. 1876–1909)
Mehmed V (35. 1909–18)
Mehmed VI (36. 1918–22)

7. Translation of the lyrics of ‘Papa Vorias’, a Cretan folk song about Gülnuş Sultan

(The author thanks Ifigeneia Georgala for her kind help to find the song as well as her generous translation of the poem.)

One bright Sunday morning, on a feast day
They took the three daughters of Papa Vorias.
These girls, born free, became slaves in Crete, and were stowed away in galleon ships
Leaving mother and father to shed unending tears, alone and inconsolable.
The first, the best, the white dove
Was, with her two sisters, brought to Istanbul.
There ten pashas, ten viziers
And eighteen captains vied to possess them, before taken them to the sultan
The pasha took one, the vizier another
And the sultan took the best of all.
And when they were taking her up the sultan's stairs
Tears fell from her eyes as if from a spring.
She turned back and forth, searching for a kinsmen,
Finding none there but her brother.
‘Go, my brother,’ she cried. ‘May your journey be prosperous,
And may your way be clad with roses!
Greet my mother, bow to my father
And tell him that the sultan took me for his wife.
He wants a Christian and blood from Crete.
But I send word to my people
To fight the Turks and subdue them
Because they came with evil, they turned people into slaves and Christians into Turks
And like the Reaper they kill and slaughter without mercy.
Don't greet my sister Zabia,
Because she cursed me to be kissed by a Turk,
To make Turks my relatives, the pasha my brother-in-law
And to take the great sultan for a husband.’
And her words were true, as true as the Archbishop's,
As true as the words of the Priest at mass, and as true as

those of the Deacon when he reads.

NOTES

Introduction The Forgotten Star of the Sultanate of Women

1. This period of the rising political role of the Harem women, who often exercised effective power since their male counterparts – husbands and sons – were either in their childhood, incompetent in ruling or highly influenced by their wives or mothers, had been inauspiciously criticized by some contemporary historians, who, with a rather sexist approach, have tended to attribute the various problems which afflicted the Ottoman Empire during this period to the involvement of women in state affairs. This term was first used as the title of the book by Ahmed Refik Altınay in the early twentieth century. For a recent edition, see Ahmed Refik Altınay, *Kadınlar Saltanatı* (Istanbul: Yurt Yayınları, 2000). For more information about this concept and Ottoman royal women's exercise of power, see Leslie P. Peirce, 'Beyond Harem Walls: Ottoman Royal Women and the Exercise of Power', in Dorothy O. Helly, Susan M. Reverby (eds), *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 40–55.

2. For a brief insight, see Günhan Börekçi, 'Köprülü Family', in Gabor Agoston and Bruce Masters (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Facts On File, 2009), pp. 314–15.

3. For a detailed political and social background of Mehmed IV's reign, see Marc David Baer, *Honoured by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

4. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Crisis and Change, 1590–1699', in Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert (eds), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 413–32.

5. Madeline Carol Zilfi, 'The Kadızadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth Century Istanbul', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 45/4 (1986), pp. 251–69.

6. A. N. Kurat and John S. Bromley, 'The Retreat of the Turks, 1683–1730', in *The New Cambridge Modern History* (Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 608–47.

7. As a starting point for this vast literature, see Allyson Poska, Jane Couchman and Katherine McIver (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013). See also Dorothy O. Helly and Susan M. Reverby (eds), *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public And Private In Women's History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).

8. Gavin Hambly (ed.), *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, Piety* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); and Fairchild Ruggles (ed.), *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies* (Albany, NY: Suny Press, 2000).

9. For an earlier study about the women patronage in Turkey, see: Ülkü Bates, 'Women as Patrons of Architecture in Turkey', in Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie (eds), *Women in the Muslim World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 245–60. See also Cemal Kafadar, 'Women in Seljuk and Ottoman Society up to mid-19th Century', in Günsel Renda (ed.), *Woman in Anatolia: 9000 Years of the Anatolian Woman* (Istanbul: Turkish Republic Ministry of Culture, 1993), pp. 192–201; Madeline Carol Zilfi (ed.), *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

10. Leslie P. Peirce's groundbreaking book was quite influential and facilitated future studies: *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

11. Leslie P. Peirce, *Harem-i Hümayun: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Hükümranlık ve Kadınlar* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010), pp. 299–301.

12. Leslie P. Peirce, 'Shifting Boundaries: Images of Ottoman Royal Women in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Critical Matrix* 4/61 (Fall/Winter, 1988), pp. 43–82; and Ayşe Çıkla Bölükbaşı, 'Erken Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kadınların Mimari Alandaki Hamiliği', *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 19 (2006), pp. 73–90.

13. Howard Crane, 'Notes on Saldjuq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 36/1 (1993), pp. 11–12; Carolyn O. Connor, *Bizans'ın Kadınları* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011), pp. 143–71, 373–423; and R. Stephen Humphreys, 'Women as Patrons of Religious Architecture in Ayyubid Damascus', *Muqarnas* 11 (1994), p. 35.

14. Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, 'The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex at Eminönü, Istanbul (1597–1665)', PhD dissertation, University of

Pennsylvania, 1994. See also Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002); and Pınar Kayaalp-Aktan, 'The Atik Valide Mosque Complex: A Testament of Nurbanu's Prestige, Power and Piety', PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2005.

15. Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006).

16. Ibid., pp. 15–16.

17. See Peirce, 'Shifting Boundaries', p. 47.

18. For a comprehensive study about Hürrem Sultan's building activities, see Şehri Kartal, 'Haseki Hürrem Sultan Yapıları', Master's thesis, Istanbul Technical University, 2012.

19. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), that is, Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (TSMA), that is, Topkapı Palace Museum Archive; Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi (VGMA), that is, Directorate General of Foundations Archive.

20. Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Pasha and Mehmed Raşid Efendi were the prominent chroniclers of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

21. Travelogues of Jean Thevenot, Josephus Grelot, Antoine Galland, Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, Aubry de la Motraye and Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo proved especially beneficial, as did those of Ottoman travellers such as Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan and Evliya Çelebi.

22. This work could not have been undertaken without access to the collections of the British Museum, and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London; Istanbul Archaeological Museum, Istanbul Research Institute (İAE), Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA), German Archaeological Institute (DAI), Istanbul Atatürk Library, Süleymaniye Library, 2nd and 4th Councils for Conservation of Cultural and Natural Properties in Istanbul; the Bodleian Libraries and Middle East Centre in Oxford; and Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, whose resources were all highly exploited during the research.

Chapter 1 The Most Itinerant Sultana of the Harem: The Extraordinary Life of a Bishop's Daughter

1. Manusakas, who uses Venetian balio Giovanni Batista's report on August 1684 to Senate of Venice, attests that she was from Greek Orthodox Verzizzi family and her real name was Evmenia. After investigating different versions of the abovementioned folk song, he concludes that it started to be sung for Gülnuş Sultan in Crete, soon after she became the Ottoman Queen Mother. M. I. Manusakas, 'He Rethemniotissa Soultana Eumenia Bergitsē stis Europaikes Chalcographies kai sta Hellēnika Dēmotika Tragoudia', *Krētika Chronika* 5 (1951), pp. 349–84.

2. Anthony Dolphin Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), table 38 cited in M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2001), p. 66; Paul Rycaut, *The History of the Turks Beginning with the Year 1679* (London: Robert Clavell, 1700), p. 522.

3. Secondary literature which use Ottoman and European sources offer different birth years for Gülnuş Sultan, ranging from 1640 to 1644: Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, pp. 65–6; Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Kadınlar Saltanatı* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000), p. 266; Betül İpşirli-Argıt, *Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan, 1640–1715* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014), p. 32.

4. Leslie P. Peirce, *Harem-i Hümayun: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Hükümranlık ve Kadınlar* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), pp. 17–74.

5. Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Osmanoğulları'nın Ünlü Kadın Sultanları* (Istanbul: Avea/Creative Yayıncılık, 2007), pp. 151–2. Vanî Mehmed Efendi was a member of Kadızadeli Movement and very influential on Mehmed IV.

6. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert (eds), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi (1600–1914)*, Vol. 2 (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2004), p. 518.

7. Hasan Ağa, *Cevahir et-Tarih* cited in Marc David Baer, *IV. Mehmet Döneminde Osmanlı Avrupası'nda İhtida ve Fetih* (Istanbul: Hil Yayın, 2010), pp. 241–3.

8. Halime Doğru, *Lehistan'da Bir Osmanlı Sultanı: IV. Mehmed'in Kamaniçe-Hotin Seferleri ve Bir Masraf Defteri* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006), p. 51. French traveller Thévenot has witnessed celebrations lasting for seven days and nights in Aleppo. See Özdemir Nutku, *IV. Mehmed'in Edirne Şenliği (1675)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1987), p. 22.

9. Ercan Alan, '95 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri', Masters's thesis,

Marmara University, 2008, pp. xxiii–xxxiv.

10. Hüseyin Behçeti, *Mirac'üz-zafer*, fol. 3a-b, 6b cited in Baer, *IV. Mehmet Döneminde*, p. 269.

11. The author thanks Altay Özaygen for translation of this expression from French.

12. Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları* (Istanbul: Oğlak Yayınları, 2008), p. 250.

13. As will be seen in Chapters 5 and 7, she built a mosque in Galata, across the water from Eminönü New Mosque, in the reign of her elder son; however, her *magnum opus* would only emerge some 50 years later during the tenure of her younger son.

14. J. B. Tavernier, *Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam* (Istanbul: Çağdaş Yayınları, 1984), p. 161.

15. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, p. 268.

16. BOA İE.SM. 5 382. This document gives the repair cost of the roads in Gallipoli upon the arrival of *Haseki* Sultan in AH 1076 (1666).

17. Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London: Charles Brome, 1686), pp. 221–2, cited in Marc David Baer, *Honoured by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 159. Getting the news of the conquest of Candia in 1669 in Thessaloniki during a hunt, the couple spent the winter there with hunting and horse-riding instead of going back to Edirne. Ibid.

18. Doğru, *Lehistan'da Bir Osmanlı Sultanı*, pp. 23–31.

19. Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681)-Defter-i Mufassal-i Eyalet-i Kamaniçe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 6–7.

20. For details about the preparations before the birth and celebration ceremonies afterwards, see Doğru, *Lehistan'da Bir Osmanlı Sultanı*, pp. 50–3.

21. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, p. 269.

22. Joseph von Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi* (Istanbul: İkra Okusan Yayınları, 1990), Vol. 6, p. 6, 459; Yılmaz Öztuna, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Kadar Türkiye Tarihi*, Vol. 10 (Istanbul: Hayat Yayınları, 1966), p. 97.

23. M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem II* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2001), pp. 45–6; Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 6, p. 459; and Manusakas, 'He Rethemniotissa Soultana Eumenia', p. 352.

24. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, p. 268; Nicolea Jorga, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi* (Istanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 2005), p. 196.

25. Kadızade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1635), the founder of this orthodox Muslim movement, was aiming to revitalize the Islam practiced by the first Muslim communities. His precepts were fixed against heterodox movements, such as Sufism, and their dances or songs. They also opposed pilgrimage to the tombs of saints, the use of coffee, tobacco and opium, and the addition of more than one minaret to a mosque. Baer, *Honoured by the Glory of Islam*, pp. 65, 116.

26. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 4 (Ankara:Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1987), p. 482; and Mehmet İpşirli, 'Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi', *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 12 (İstanbul: TDV İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2009), p. 527. Having said that, in later life it seems that Gülnuş Sultan was probably affected by more heterodox Islamic schools of thought, such as those exemplified by the Celvetî movement: in her will she instructed her survivors that she be buried close to the tomb of Divitçizade Talib Mehmed Efendi in Üsküdar (TSMA E. 3941/1–2). Divitçizade was the sheikh of the Celvetî order and a disciple of Aziz Mahmud Hüdaî, who had been the sheikh of Hüdaî dervish lodge until his death in August 1679 (Azmi Bilgin, 'Bivücûdî Mehmed Efendi, Divitçizâde', *Üsküdarlı Meşhurlar Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2012), pp. 108–109.

27. Baer, *Honoured by the Glory of Islam*, pp. 171–2.

28. Silahdar Mehmet Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi: On Yedinci Asır Saray Hayatı*, ed. Mustafa Nihad (Ankara: Anka Kitabevi, 1947), pp. 11–17. Silahdar gives the stops en route and details about the campaign, such as the passage of Gülnuş Sultan's carriage across a bridge in Plovdiv ploughing through the crowd, and her entrance to Belgrade accompanied by the sounds of the army band playing drums.

29. Baer, *IV. Mehmet Döneminde*, pp. 335–6.

30. Abdi Paşa, *Vekayi'name*, fol. 2b cited in Baer, *IV. Mehmet Döneminde*, p. 336. Though he had used to be respected as ghazi (warrior), Mehmed IV and his expensive passion for hunting became the target of the Ottoman dignitaries in 1687.

31. Silahdar Mehmed Ağa, *Tarih-i Silahdar*, cited in Baer, *IV. Mehmet Döneminde*, pp. 341–58, 361.

32. Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 4, p. 459.

33. Abdülkadir Özcan (ed.), *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi* (Ankara: Türk

Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2000), p. 108.

34. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Krizler ve Değişim, 1590–1699', in Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert (eds), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi (1600–1914)*, Vol. 2 (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2004), pp. 560–2.

35. Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmet Ağa, *Nusretname*, ed. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, Vol. 1 (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1962), pp. 4–8.

36. BOA İE. DH. 23 2126; Silahdar, *Nusretname*, Vol. 1, p. 20.

37. BOA İE. ENB. 5 559.

38. Rycaut, *The History of the Turks*, p. 527.

39. Alexander Vlasto, *A History of the Island of Chios* (Londra: J. Davy and Sons, 1913), p. 91.

40. Silahdar, *Nusretname*, Vol. 1, p. 17.

41. Details of the preparations for her travels around Edirne can be found in archival documents, such as: BOA İE. SM. 16 1653, İE. SM. 23 2353, C. SM. 16 803. Details about the precautions for her travels to and from Istanbul could be found in several documents, such as: BOA C.SM. 69 3476; Necati Gültepe, *H. 1106–1107 Tarihli Mühimme Defterine Göre Devlet Kararları* (master's thesis, Istanbul University, 1992), 53.

42. Silahdar, *Nusretname*, Vol. 1, p. 140.

43. Öztuna, *Başlangıcından Günümüze*, Vol. 10, pp. 149–63.

44. Silahdar, *Nusretname*, Vol. 1, pp. 113, 144, 209, 307.

45. TSMA, E. No. 79/15 cited in Emine Berksan, 'II. Mustafa ve III. Ahmet'in Valideleri Emetullah Gülnuş Sultan ve Vakıfları', Master's thesis, Istanbul University, 1998, pp. 14, 106.

46. Silahdar, *Nusretname*, Vol. 1, pp. 78, 100, 197.

47. Franc¸ois Alphonse Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople* (Paris: A. Picard, 1894), p. 208.

48. Faroqhi, 'Krizler ve Değişim', Vol. 2, pp. 560–1; and Öztuna, *Başlangıcından Günümüze*, Vol. 10, pp. 143–83.

49. Silahdar, *Nusretname*, Vol. 2, pp. 10–11.

50. Ibid., pp. 23–5. Gülnuş Sultan watched her son entering the city from Bekri Mustafa Pasha's residence at Silivri Gate, then went to Ayvansaray to enjoy the feast at her daughter's waterside mansion, and then she went to Tersane (Aynalıkavak Kiosk) by a latticed imperial boat.

51. Ibid., pp. 34–66.

52. Silahdar mentions two different occasions in which Gülnuş Sultan get involved and mediated the relations between his son and grand vizier Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha: Ibid., pp. 52, 116.

53. Özcan (ed.), *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, p. 108.

54. Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Sultanları* (Istanbul: Oğlak Yayınları, 1999), pp. 312–13.

55. TSMA E. 79/18, 19 cited in Berksan, *II. Mustafa ve III. Ahmet'in Valideleri*, p. 12.

56. TSMA E. 39/24 (E. 79/23). I thank to Merve Çakır who read this document.

57. TSMA E. 3065.

58. TSMA E. 79/20 cited in Berksan, *II. Mustafa ve III. Ahmet'in Valideleri*, p. 107.

59. Silahdar, *Nusretname*, Vol. 2, pp. 183, 184, 209.

60. Özcan (ed.), *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, p. 253.

61. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Sultanları*, p. 317.

62. TSMA E. 0039/23 (E. 79–22).

63. TSMA E. 0039/18 (E. 79–17).

64. Murat Kocaaslan, *IV. Mehmed Saltanatında Topkapı Sarayı Haremi: İktidar, Sınırlar ve Mimari* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014), pp. 119–25.

65. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, p. 271.

66. Silahdar, *Nusretname*, Vol. 2, p. 10.

67. Öztuna, *Başlangıcından Günümüze*, Vol. 11, p. 9; and Silahdar, *Nusretname*, Vol. 2, pp. 244, 250.

68. Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 7, pp. 86–127; Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Sultanları*, p. 317.

69. Silahdar, *Nusretname*, Vol. 2, p. 242.

70. Voltaire, *History of Charles XII, King of Sweden* (1731) cited in Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, p. 272.

71. Uppsala University Library, Fol. 642, Zetterstéen Catalogue 670. This document also attests the fact that the Queen Mother prefers to list her pious works and building activities to represent herself in front of a foreign royalty. The author thanks Dariusz Ko?odziejczyk for sharing this document.

72. Öztuna, *Başlangıcından Günümüze*, Vol. 11, pp. 11–15.

73. Two original copies of this letter survive in the archives: TSMA E. 2989/1; BOA C. SM. 102 5143. Also see Sevgi Ağca and Şenay Palamut, 'Sadrazam Baltacı Mehmed Paşa'nın Gülnuş

Emetullah Valide Sultan'a Kaimesi', in *Topkapı Sarayı Harem-i Hümâyûnu* (Istanbul: TC Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2012), p. 161.

74. Silahdar, *Nusretname*, Vol. 2, pp. 287–305.

75. Öztuna, *Başlangıcından Günümüze*, Vol. 11, p. 16.

76. Alan Palmer, *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire* (London: Faber and Faber, 2011), p. 30.

77. Kenneth Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: The American Society, 1991), pp. 412–14, cited in İpşirli-Argıt, *Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan*, p. 77.

78. Kogalniceanu, *Archiva Romaneasce*, II, 32 cited in Jorga, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, p. 277.

79. TSMA E. 0101 0002 011.

80. İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1972), Vol. 4, p. 8.

81. Silahdar, *Nusretname*, Vol. 2, p. 336.

82. Ayvansarayî Hüseyin Efendi, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi* (Istanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2001), p. 595; and TSMA E. 3941/1–2. See Chapter 7 for the details of her burial place that she designated in her testament.

83. BOA C. SM. 129 6475 (dated to 13 Zilkade 1127 [10 November 1715]).

84. BOA TSMA d. 2179 (dated to 14 Zilkade 1127 [11 November 1715]). For the transliteration of this document, see: İpşirli-Argıt, *Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan*, pp. 211–35.

85. BOA C. SM. 52 2633 (dated to 23 Zilkade 1127 [20 November 1715]). The list of fiefs was including Kilis, Reşvan, Zile, Azaz, Menemen, Keşan and Çorum, the yearly income of which were totalling 258,500 *guruş*.

86. BOA İE. SM. 31 3289.

87. The waqfiyyas of her buildings list the immense properties she owned – previously presented by her husband or by her sons, upon various occasions like ascend to throne – such as villages in Egypt (VGMA register no: 143, 1–78), or fields in Bulgaria and in Üsküdar (VGMA, register no: 1640, 27–45). Other documents also attest that she had fiefs in or around Aleppo, Kastamonu and Seferihisar: TSMA E. 79/13; Alan, *95 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri*, pp. xxiii–xxxiv.

88. A 1706 *Relazione* reporting the events in the Ottoman capital

to the Venetian Republic states that the Queen Mother (Gülnuş Sultan) was highly respected in the court and her son (Ahmed III) strictly obeyed him as she had an immense influence on him, although not as much as that of previous queen mother (Turhan Sultan). Maria Pia Pedani and Luigi Firpo, *Constantinopoli, Relazioni Inedite (1512–1789)* (Padova: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1996), p. 767.

89. Leslie P. Peirce terminates the 'Sultanate of Women' with Turhan Sultan: Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). Godfrey Goodwin excludes her in his monograph on Ottoman women: Godfrey Goodwin, *The Private World of Ottoman Woman* (London: Saqi Books, 1997).

Chapter 2 Building Activities of Ottoman Sultanas up to Gülnuş Sultan

1. Amy Singer, 'Serving up Charity: The Ottoman Public Kitchen', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35/3 (Winter 2005), p. 83. For the architectural patronage of women in early Turkish states, early Islam, Ayyubid, Byzantine Empire and the Seljuk State, respectively, see: Aynur Durukan, 'Türk Toplumlarında Sanat Koruyucusu ve Kurucu Olarak Kadınlar', in Zeynep Yasa Yaman and Serpil Bağcı (eds), *Gelenek,Kimlik, Bireşim: Kültürel Kesişmeler ve Sanat*; *Günsel Renda'ya Armağan* (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 2011), p. 109; Leslie P. Peirce, 'Shifting Boundaries: Images of Ottoman Royal Women in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Critical Matrix* 4/61 (Fall/Winter, 1988), p. 77; R. Stephen Humphreys, 'Women as Patrons of Religious Architecture in Ayyubid Damascus', *Muqarnas* 11 (1994), p. 35; Carolyn O. Connor, *Bizans'ın Kadınları* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011), pp. 143–71, 373–423; and Howard Crane, 'Notes on Saldjuq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 36/1 (1993), pp. 11–12.

2. Leslie P. Peirce, 'Shifting Boundaries: Images of Ottoman Royal Women in the 16th and 17th Centuries', *Critical Matrix* 4 (Fall/Winter 1988), p. 77.

3. Gabriel Baer, 'Women and Waqf: An Analysis of the Istanbul Tahrir of 1546', *Asian and African Studies* 17, No. 1–3 (November 1983), pp. 10, 26, 27.

4. For detailed information on the status of women in Harem, the

evolving reproduction policy and the succession system of Ottomans, see Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

5. Although there were very powerful sisters and daughters of Ottoman sultans, such as Mihrimah Sultan or Şah Sultan, who also acted as important architectural patrons, this study will exclude their patronages and focus only on wives and mothers of sovereigns.

6. This term was first offered by Leslie P. Peirce for the reversal of dynastic decentralization, as the royal family gradually gathered in from the provinces, where the mothers of princes used to accompany their sons, and installed themselves in the imperial palace in Istanbul starting with Hürrem Sultan in the first half of the sixteenth century. Leslie P. Peirce, 'Shifting Boundaries', p. 47.

7. Leslie P. Peirce, 'Gender and Sexual Propriety in Ottoman Royal Women's Patronage', in D. Fairchild Ruggles (ed.), *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000), pp. 55–6.

8. M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2001), p. 4.

9. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1966), p. 462.

10. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1972), pp. 190, 133–5.

11. Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, p. 9.

12. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi*, pp. 133–5.

13. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri IV* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1974), p. 206.

14. İhsan Aydın Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid, Yavuz Selim Devri* (Istanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1983), pp. 377, 380–9.

15. Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, p. 20.

16. İhsan Aydın Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid*, pp. 334–41.

17. Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, p. 30.

18. Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları* (Istanbul: Oğlak Yayınları, 2008), pp. 148–9.

19. Ayşe Çıkla Bölükbaşı, 'Erken Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kadınların

Mimari Alandaki Hamiliği', *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 19, pp. 78–9.

20. Çıkla Bölükbaşı, 'Erken Osmanlı Devleti'nde', p. 82.

21. M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Haremden Mektuplar* (Istanbul: Vakıt Matbaası, 1956), p. 18.

22. Peirce, 'Shifting Boundaries', p. 61.

23. Leslie P. Peirce, *Harem-i Hümayun: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Hükümranlık ve Kadınlar* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010), p. 84. Peirce states that the unusual act was not Mahidevran's leave but Hürrem's stay in the palace, and affirms that her younger prince Cihangir's health conditions might have been a reason for Hürrem's stay.

24. Peirce, 'Shifting Boundaries', p. 47.

25. Ibid., pp. 51–2. According to Peirce, this shift of power coincided with the physical transformations within the palace. The sultan, who used to live among men – his servants and those trained to become ruling elite in the palace – gradually moved to Harem precinct and this change of place accelerated the increase of women's involvement in state politics.

26. Marc David Baer, *IV. Mehmet Döneminde Osmanlı Avrupası'nda İhtida ve Fetih* (Istanbul: Hil Yayın, 2010), pp. 76–8.

27. Ülkü Bates, 'Women as Patrons of Architecture in Turkey', in Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie (eds), *Women in the Muslim World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 252.

28. Luigi Bassano, *Costumi et i modi particolari della vita de Turchi*, Munich, 2963, 18v cited in Peirce, *Harem-i Hümayun*, p. 87.

29. Peirce, 'Gender and Sexual Propriety', pp. 58–9; and Peirce, *Harem-i Hümayun*, p. 281.

30. For details and a complete list of Hürrem Sultan's building activities, see Şehri Kartal, 'Haseki Hürrem Sultan Yapıları', Master's thesis, Istanbul Technical University, 2012.

31. Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), pp. 74, 194.

32. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, pp. 186–7.

33. Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, p. 37.

34. Selim II chose Edirne for his mosque complex while Murat III built his mosque in Manisa. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, pp. 27–35.

35. Nurbanu's salary increased from 40 *akçes* to 1000 *akçes* when she became the favourite of Selim II, and it was doubled after she became the queen mother. Peirce, *Harem-i Hümayun*, p. 179.

36. Ayvansarayî Hüseyin Efendi, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi* (Istanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2001), p. 588.

37. Peirce, 'Gender and Sexual Propriety', p. 62. Nurbanu also dealt with the construction of her daughter and son-in-law's complex in Eyüp, and inspected her son Murat III's complex in Manisa. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, s. 265.

38. Pınar Kayaalp-Aktan, 'The Atik Valide Mosque Complex: A Testament of Nurbanu's Prestige, Power and Piety', PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2005, p. 20.

39. For more information about Safiye Sultan: Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, 'The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex at Eminönü, Istanbul (1597–1665)', PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1994, pp. 24–38.

40. Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, 'The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex at Eminönü', *Muqarnas* 15 (1998), p. 63.

41. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, p. 511.

42. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Krizler ve Değişim, 1590–1699', in Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert (eds), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi (1600–1914)*, Vol. 2 (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2004), pp. 548, 554.

43. Thys-Şenocak, 'The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex at Eminönü', p. 63.

44. Ibid., pp. 46–8.

45. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, pp. 212–13.

46. Thys-Şenocak, *The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex at Eminönü, Istanbul*, pp. 36–7.

47. Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, p. 47; and Arzu İyianlar, 'Valide Sultanların İmar Faaliyetleri', Master's thesis, Istanbul University, 1992, p. 59.

48. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, s. 515.

49. Günhan Börekçi, 'Factions and Favourites at the Courts of Ahmed I and His Immediate Predecessors', PhD dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1994, pp. 65n96.

50. İbrahim Pazan, *Padişah Anneleri* (Istanbul: Babıali Kültür Yayıncılığı, 2007), pp. 84.

51. Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, pp. 48–9.

52. Peirce, 'Gender and Sexual Propriety', p. 63. The details of her charity were designated in her endowment deed dated to 1617. Mücteba İlgürel, 'Kösem Sultan'ın Hicaz Suyolları Vakfiyesi', Graduation thesis, Istanbul University, 1964, pp. 23–4.

53. Naima, *Naîmâ Târihi* (Istanbul: Z. Danışman Yayınevi), Vol. 5, p. 113.

54. Ayvansarayî, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi*, p. 553.

55. Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kadın Baniler; Hadice Turhan Sultan* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009), p. 298.

56. Doğan Kuban, *Osmanlı Mimarisi* (Istanbul: YEM Yayın, 2007), p. 395.

57. Barozzi ve Berchet, Le Relazioni, 2: 95 cited in Peirce, 'Gender and Sexual Propriety', pp. 64–5.

58. Kuban, *Osmanlı Mimarisi*, p. 384. For more information about the history and architecture of the complex, see: Ahmet Vefa Çobanoğlu, 'Çinili Külliyesi', in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı and Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), Vol. 2, pp. 519–22.

59. İlgürel, *Kösem Sultan'ın Hicaz Suyolları*, p. 29; and Ayvansarayî, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi*, pp. 284–6.

60. İbrahim Hilmi Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri II: Beyoğlu ve Üsküdar Cihetleri* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1945), p. 226; İbrahim Hilmi Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri I: İstanbul Ciheti* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1943), p. 74; and Evliya Çelebi, *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: İstanbul*, eds Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008), p. 83.

61. İsmail Bıçakçı, *Yunanistan'da Türk Mimari Eserleri* (Istanbul: İSAR Vakfı Yayınları, 2003), p. 100.

62. Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, pp. 56–8.

63. Baer, *IV. Mehmet Döneminde*, p. 100.

64. Ibid., pp. 94–5.

65. Thys-Şenocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kadın Baniler*, p. 113.

66. For detailed information about these castles, see Ibid., pp. 131–212. Also see Nermin Arda, 'Turhan Valide Sultan'ın Çanakkale Boğazı'nda İnşa Ettirdiği Kaleler Hakkında Bir Araştırma, Graduation thesis, Istanbul University, 1974.

67. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, p. 249.

68. For more information on the complex and its patron, see: Thys-Şenocak, *The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex at Eminönü, Istanbul*, pp. 51–174.

69. Baer, *IV. Mehmet Döneminde*, pp. 141–8.

70. The Kadızadelis were a reformist movement advocating a puritanical version of Islam. They were very influential throughout the seventeenth century in the Ottoman Empire, and attracted many members of the dynasty, including Mehmed IV and his mother Turhan Sultan. Their leader Kadızade Mehmed Efendi was against the innovations in Islam, such as the music and dance of Sufi order, visiting shrines, the consumption and sale of coffee, tobacco, alcohol and opium, the celebration of religious nights, for instance, *kandil*, and of course unnecessary and flamboyant mosque construction. Kadızade and his followers also fermented hostility towards non-Muslims. Ibid., pp. 110–17; Madeline Carol Zilfi, 'The Kadızadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth Century Istanbul', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 45/4 (1986), pp. 251–69.

71. For the concept of royal gaze discussed in the case of Turhan Sultan's New Mosque's royal pavilion, see: Thys-Şenocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kadın Baniler*, pp. 254–62 and 308n17.

72. Marc David Baer, *Honoured by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 92.

73. Peirce, 'Shifting Boundaries', p. 64.

74. Hadice Turhan Sultan Vakfiyesi, Süleymaniye Kitaplığı, No: 150, dated to 1663.

75. İyianlar, *Valide Sultanların İmar Faaliyetleri*, pp. 116–17.

76. Muhammed Fatih Çalışır, 'War and Peace in the Frontier: Ottoman Rule in the Uyvar Province, 1663–1685', Master's thesis, Bilkent University, 2004), p. 44. Also see: Joseph von Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi* (Istanbul: İkra Okusan Yayınları, 1990), Vol. 6, p. 108.

77. İsmail Bıçakçı, *Yunanistan'da Türk Mimari Eserleri* (Istanbul: İSAR Vakfı Yayınları, 2003), p. 109; and Silahdar Mehmet Ağa, *Silâhdar Tarihi* (Istanbul: Orhaniye Matbaası, 1928) Vol. 1, pp. 550–1.

78. Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681)-Defter-i Mufassal-i Eyalet-i Kamaniçe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 53. See Chapter 3 for the converted mosque of Gülnuş Sultan in Kamianets-Podilskyi, the first and the last conversion in the name of a favourite.

79. Thys-Şenocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kadın Baniler*, pp. 297–8; and Ayvansarayî, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi*, p. 552.

Chapter 3 Conquest and Conversion: Gülnuş Sultan's Name on the Frontiers

1. Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681)-Defter-i Mufassal-i Eyalet-i Kamaniçe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 5.

2. Abdurrahman Abdi Pasha's *Vekâyinâme*, Hacı Ali Efendi's *Fetihnâme-i Kamaniçe* and Yusuf Nâbi's *Tarih-i Kamaniçe* gives eyewitness descriptions of the campaign and afterwards. Contemporary chronicles' works, *Tarih-i Raşid* of Mehmed Raşid Efendi, *Silâhdar Tarihi* of Silâhdar Mehmed Ağa, and *Zübde-i Vekâiyat* of Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Pasha makes use of these firsthand sources. For an evolution of these sources see Marc David Baer, *Honoured by the Glory of Islam, Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 164–5. For more information about this campaign, see Mehmet İnbaşı, *Ukrayna'da Osmanlılar: Kamaniçe Seferi ve Organizasyonu (1672)* (Istanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2004).

3. 'Ol küfürle leb-â-leb olan köhne deyrler/Oldu Muhammed ümmetinin cümle mabedi'. See Hüseyin Yorulmaz, *Urfalı Nâbî* (Istanbul: Şule Yayınları, 1998), p. 96.

4. İnbaşı, *Ukrayna'da Osmanlılar*, p. 203.

5. Besides Mehmed IV and Gülnuş Sultan, Queen Mother Hadice Turhan Sultan, Grand Vizier Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, Second Vizier Musahib Mustafa Pasha, Third Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha and Preacher Vani Mehmed Efendi had also one converted church each. For a table of the old and new names of the seven churches converted into mosques and two newly built mosques in Kamianets-Podilskyi, see Kolodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia*, p. 53.

6. Adrian Mandzy, *A City on Europe's Steppe Frontier: An Urban History of Early Modern Kamianets-Podilsky, Origins to 1672* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), pp. 221–66. For more details about the history of St. Nicholas Church, see Rafal Quirini-Poplavski and Muzaffer Özgüleş, 'Haseki Gülnuş Sultan Camisi that is on the History of the Dominican Church in Kamianets Podilsky in the Years 1672–1699', in *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, LXXV/ 3 (Warsaw: 2013), pp. 375–403.

7. Hacı Ali Efendi, *Fetihnâme-i Kamaniçe*, Istanbul Süleymaniye Library, fol. 90b.

8. Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), pp. 121–2.

9. BOA MAD 709 and MAD 4559, p. 5, cited in Zbigniew Bania and Marta Wiraszka, *Kamieniec Podilski, Miasto-Legenda* (Warsaw: 2001), pp. 189–90.

10. Ibid.

11. Aleksander Prusiewicz, *Kamieniec Podolski: Szkic Historyczny* (Warsaw: 1915), p. 68.

12. Kolodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia*, p. 51.

13. Taras Palkov, *Kamyanets-Podilskyi, Khotyn, Castles of the Zbruch Valley, Podilski Tovtry* (Lviv: 2010), p. 9.

14. Ibid.

15. Mandzy, *A City on Europe's Steppe Frontier*, p. 266.

16. In a register of incomes and expenses issued in 1680, during the tenure of the governor of *Kamaniçe* Vizier Ahmed Pasha, the employees of the Haseki Sultan Mosque and their daily salaries were recorded, together with those of the employees of the other imperial mosques of Mehmed IV and his mother Hadice Turhan Sultan: BOA MAD 4559, 2 (I thank to Merve Çakır and Murat Bilgin for the transcription of this document).

17. BOA D. BŞM 343/2, MAD 4559/4, and D.BKL 32263/26 cited in Kolodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia*, p. 52.

18. The foundation deeds of Gülnuş Sultan, kept in the archive of Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü (henceforth VGMA) in Ankara, does not include mosque in *Kamaniçe*. See VGMA, nr: 143, nr: 1640 and nr: 1641 for the job descriptions and allowances of other *vakıf*s of Gülnuş Sultan; and VGMA, nr: 1551 and nr: 1552 for that of Mehmed IV.

19. Rifa'at A. Abou-el-Haj, 'The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier in Europe: 1699–1703', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 89/3 (July–September 1969), pp. 170n19.

20. Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, 'Polonya ve Osmanlı Devleti Arasında Tarih Boyunca Siyasi ve Diplomatik İlişkiler', in *Savaş ve Barış-15.–19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı-Lehistan İlişkileri* (Istanbul: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1999), p. 30.

21. *The Monuments of Urbanism and Architecture of the Ukrainian SSR* (Kiev: 1986), Vol. 4, p. 150.

22. In the interview with O. Alojzy Kosobudzki, the father of St. Nicholas Church in Kamianets-Podilskyi, on 28 July 2012, he conveyed that a niche on the south-eastern wall of the apse was found during the restoration work in 2001. However, photographs taken by K. Jurków and J. Smaza from inside and outside at the same point, suggest that it was probably not the

location of the mihrab. Still, we should not dismiss the possibility that a mihrab could have been opened on this spot, although it is a small possibility.

23. Janusz Smaza, '17th-century Islamic Pulpit (Minbar) in the St. Nicholas the Bishop Roman-Catholic Church in Kamieniec Podolski (Kamianets-Podilskyi), Ukraine Restoration Research and Issues', in Jadwiga W. Łukaszewicz, Piotr Niemcewicz (eds.), *11th International Congress on Deterioration and Conservation of Stone, 15–20 September 2008, Torun, Poland* (Torun: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikolaja Kopernika, 2008), Vol. 2, pp. 1308–10.

24. Kolodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia*, p. 52.

25. For more information about the pulpit, its architectural description and a comparison with its contemporaries, see: Quirini-Poplavski and Özgüleş, 'Haseki Gülnuş Sultan Camisi', pp. 375–403. Also see: Muzaffer Özgüleş and Filiz Özer, 'Ukrayna'da Bir Haseki Sultan Camisi ve Yadigâr Kalan Minberi / A Haseki Sultan Mosque in Ukraine and Its Minbar as Its Reminder', *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 23 (2014), pp. 69–108.

26. İsmail Bıçakçı, *Yunanistan'da Türk Mimari Eserleri* (Istanbul: İSAR Vakfı Yayınları, 2003), p. 100.

27. Muhammed Fatih Çalışır, 'War and Peace in the Frontier: Ottoman Rule in the Uyvar Province, 1663–1685', Master's thesis, Bilkent University, 2004, p. 44.

28. Marc David Baer, *IV. Mehmet Döneminde Osmanlı Avrupası'nda İhtida ve Fetih* (Istanbul: Hil Yayın, 2010), p. 250.

29. Baer, *Honoured by the Glory of Islam*, p. 175.

30. F. W. Hasluck, 'The Latin Monuments of Chios', *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XVI (1909–10), p. 155.

31. Philip P. Argenti, *The Religious Minorities of Chios* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 222.

32. Ali Fuat Örenç, 'Sakız Adası', *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2009), Vol. 36, p. 8.

33. Alexander Vlasto, *A History of the Island of Chios* (London: J. Davy and Sons, 1913), p. 68.

34. Evliya Çelebi mentions this mosque as 'Cığala Paşa Camisi' and notes that it used to be a church. Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2005), Vol. 9, p. 64.

35. Miguel A. Bunes and Evrim Türkçelik, '16. Yüzyıldan 17.

Yüzyıla Geçerken Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile İspanya Krallığı Arasında Akdeniz'de Çatışma', in *Harp ve Sulh: Avrupa ve Osmanlılar*, ed. Dejanirah Couto (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2010), 186.

36. Joseph von Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi* (Istanbul: İkra Okusan Yayınları, 1990), Vol. 4, p. 474.

37. Argenti, *The Religious Minorities*, pp. 216–17; Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, Vol. 9, p. 64.

38. Vlasto, *A History of the Island of Chios*, p. 87.

39. For an example, see anonymous Venetian map of Chios dated to 1694, entitled *Dell Aquisto e del ritito de Venetia dell isola di Scio nell ano 1694*, published in Norimberga, in 1710: Costas Koutsikas, *Engravings of Chios, Volume II: Maps-Landscapes* (Athens: Ekdoseis Akritas, 1995) pp. 136–7. A detail from this map is seen in Figure 3.7a.

40. Vlasto, *A History of the Island of Chios*, p. 91.

41. Giorgio Hofmann, *Vescovadi Cattolici della Grecia – Chios* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1934), p. 24.

42. Silahdar Mehmed Ağa, *Nusretname* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1962), p. 17.

43. Hofmann, *Vescovadi Cattolici della Grecia – Chios*, pp. 22–3.

44. Ibid., p. 109; and Philip P. Argenti, *Diplomatic Archive of Chios (1577–1841)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), Vol. 2, pp. 827n1.

45. Hofmann, *Vescovadi Cattolici della Grecia – Chios*, p. 25.

46. Ibid. Of these two churches, San Nicolo would be repaired after the Sultan's permission in 1720 and became the common cathedral of the Latins. See Argenti, *The Religious Minorities*, pp. 305–306.

47. Argenti, *Diplomatic Archive of Chios*, Vol. 1, p. xxxviin3; and Argenti, *The Religious Minorities*, pp. 227–9.

48. Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *A Voyage into the Levant* (London: 1718), Vol. 1, p. 279.

49. Argenti, *The Religious Minorities*, p. 215.

50. Hofmann and Argenti give the names of other suburban churches such as San Tomaso Gregorio, Madonna Incoronato and Madonna di Loreti of the Dominicans; San Giovanni or Monopetra of Franciscans. However, they do not mention the name of a third church to be converted into a mosque. Therefore, the mosque of Mısırlızade İbrahim Pasha in Chios, the name of

which could be traced in Ottoman archival documents, might have been converted from a minor church outside the castle or it might have replaced one of the above mentioned demolished churches.

51. On the other hand, the spot of the former Latin Cathedral of La Travenna is now occupied by a twentieth century Greek Orthodox church.

52. VGMA, register no: 1640, 8. The related part of the document, which lists the properties of Gülnuş Sultan's foundation, originally reads: 'cezire-i mezbûrede bina buyurdukları cami-i şerif karşısında vâki bir tarafı tarik-i âm ve bir tarafı İbrahim Bey bahçesi ve bir tarafı Marya menzili ve bir tarafı Azna zımmi menzili ile mahdûd bir bab mülk menzilini ve cami-i şerife muttasıl olup tarafeyni Abdurrahman Paşa mülkleri ve bir tarafı cami-i şerif ve bir tarafı tarik-i âm ile mahdûd birbirine muttasıl fevkâni ve tahtâni oda ve kenif ve sofa ve bir miktar bahçeyi müştemil beş bab mülk menzillerini.'

53. Hofmann, *Vescovadi Cattolici della Grecia – Chios*, p. 15.

54. Argenti, *The Religious Minorities*, p. 219. Argenti states that San Sebastiano in the Palaiocastro was possibly another name for the same church.

55. *Eng.* pace. 1 *passi* = 1.48 m.

56. Hofmann, *Vescovadi Cattolici della Grecia – Chios*, p. 15. Demarchis also relates that Santa Maria di Travena, which would be converted to Mustafa II's mosque, was 17 paces in length and 6 paces in width with three altars, and it was the cathedral and the congregation church of the city. Although it was not adequate for this duty, it had been used as the cathedral of the Catholics in Chios since 1613, but it was rebuilt on a larger scale in 1639 by a rich merchant, Lorenzo Giudici, and additions to the building continued until 1643. Argenti, *The Religious Minorities*, p. 217.

57. Hofmann, *Vescovadi Cattolici della Grecia – Chios*, p. 23. Venier gives the following description for the church to be converted into Mustafa II's mosque: 'The Cathedral named La Natività, vulgarly [known as] La Travenna, is divided into three aisles of competent size, with a ceiling of [wooden] planks and cedar beams, it is supported by six pillars and it contains ten altars, including a chapel where the most Holy is kept.' Ibid.

58. In another engraving which was possibly copied from Giacomo Rossi's 1687 original in 1713 by Raffaello Savanarola, the building was depicted exactly the same and labelled as San Sebastiano in the legend. In both of these engravings, another

basilical building, which is standing in '*La Piazza*' according to the legend – most likely today's Vounaki Square – with its hipped roof and bell tower, should be identified as Santa Maria di Travena.

59. George Braun and Franz Hohenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Colonia: 1588) cited in Koutsikas, *Engravings of Chios*, pp. 46–7.

60. See those engravings which were cited in Koutsikas, *Engravings of Chios*: Jacob Peeters, *Description des principales Villes, Havres et Isles du Golfe de Venise du cote' Oriental, comme aussi des Villes et Forteresses de la Moree et quelques Places de la Grece et des Isles principales de l'Archipel et Forteresses d'jcelles et en Suite quelques Places renommées de la Terre Saincte, et autres dessous la Domination Ottomanne vers le Midy et l'Orient, et quelques principales Villes en Perse et le Regne du Grand Mogol* (Antwerp, 1692); Olfert Dapper, *Description exacte des isles de l'Archipel et de quelques autres adjacentes dont les principales sont Chypre, Rhodes, Candie, Samos, Chio, Negrepont, Lemnos, Paros, Delos, Patmos, avec un grand nombre d'autres* (Amsterdam, 1703); and Olfert Dapper, *Port of Chios* (German edition, 1703).

61. Thomas Mann Baynes' engraving *Scio* (London, 1835) shows the minarets of the converted churches in Chios, where the sections of a minaret above the gallery (including the cone and the finial) are installed on top of the present bell towers. See Koutsikas, *Engravings of Chios*, pp. 188–9.

62. Muhammet H. Demirsoy, '109 Numaralı Mühimme Defterinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi', Master's thesis, Ege University, 2001, p. 76.

63. The first waqfiyya (TSMK Y. 3510, 1–34) of the mosque is dated to 2 Muharrem 1109 (21 July 1697), while the second waqfiyya (VGMA, register no: 1640, 17–20) including the regulations for the mosque in Galata and the fountain in Edirne was issued on 29 Şevval 1110 (30 April 1699).

64. VGMA, register no: 1640, 17–20. The details of these properties were given in the postscript added to the second waqfiyya in 19 September 1700, therefore they should have been built before this date and after the issue of the second waqfiyya in 30 April 1699.

65. TSMA E. 79/7 cited in Emine Berksan, 'II. Mustafa ve III. Ahmet'in Valideleri Emetullah Gülnuş Sultan ve Vakıfları', Master's thesis, Istanbul University, 1998, pp. 101–102.

66. TSMA E. 79/5.

67. TSMA E. 0101 0002 030.

68. TSMA E. 79/8.

69. TSMA E. 0101 0002 040.

70. Philip P. Argenti, *The Massacres of Chios: Described in Contemporary Diplomatic Reports* (Oxford: John Lane, The Bodley Head Ltd., 1932), p. 38. Mehmet Emin Vahit Paşa's *Tarih-i vaka-yi cezire-yi Sakız sene 1237* gives the details of the same event from Ottoman Empire's point of view: Mehmet Emin Vahit, *Tarih-i Vaka-yi Cezire-yi Sakız sene 1237*, İstanbul Atatürk Kitaplığı, No: 55. BOA HAT 932 40382 also mentions that the suburb of Chios was burnt down. While the Turks had largely destroyed the churches, the mosques and the leads on their roofs were also demolished by the Greek. Argenti, *Diplomatic Archive of Chios*, Vol. 1, p. 425.

71. See, for instance, BOA İE. ML. 121 11448.

72. BOA HAT 872 38761/A, BOA HAT 872 38761/B.

73. BOA, HAT 544 26896. In fact, this waqf used to be called as waqf of Gülnuş Valide Sultan's mosques in Galata and Chios, and fountain in Edirne. On the other hand, the latest document mentioning the properties of Gülnuş Sultan's waqf in Chios dates from 1875 and it gives the revenue that the waqf acquired from the disposal of a house once belonged to the waqf as 49 *guruş*.

74. Silahdar, *Nusretname*, Vol. 2, p. 242. In fact, Silahdar is the only Ottoman chronicler that informs us about these conversions in Oran. Another contemporary Ottoman historian Raşid gives details about the conquest of Oran but he does not mention these conversions. Raşid Mehmed Efendi, Çelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, *Tarih-i Raşid ve Zeyli* (Istanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2013), Vol. 2, pp. 800–1.

75. Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 7, p. 130.

76. BOA C. HR. 88 4371.

77. There are only three inscription panels surviving from this period (1708–32), and all belong to the buildings built by the second Dey Mustafa bin Yusuf: Mehmet Tütüncü, 'Ottoman Heritage in Oran (Wahran)- Inscriptions and Architecture', in Ismet Terki-Hassaine, Emilio Sola Castaño, Alejandro R. Diez Torre and Manuel Casado Arboniés (eds), *Las Campanas de Orán, 1509–2009* (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 2012), pp. 216–20.

78. Aziz Samih, *Şimalî Afrika'da Türkler* (Istanbul: Vakıt Matbaası, 1936), Vol. 2, p. 36.

79. G. Marçais, B. Semmoud, 'Wahran', *Encyclopedia of Islam*

(Leiden: Brill, 2002), Vol. 11, pp. 50–1.

80. A.Pestemaldjoglou, 'Ce qui subsiste de l'Oran espagnol', *Revue Africaine* 79–II (1936), p. 666.

81. Tütüncü, 'Ottoman Heritage in Oran', pp. 216–20.

82. See, for instance 'Plan d'Oran' c. 1890 on gallica.bnf.fr.

83. Georges Marçais, *Algérie Médiévale: Monuments et Paysages Historiques* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1957), p. 108.

84. Henri Leon Fey, *Histoire d'Oran, Avant, Pendant et Après la Domination Espagnole* (Oran: Typographie Adolphe Perrier, 1858), p. 231.

85. René Lespès, *Oran, Étude de géographie et d'histoire urbaines* (Paris: Alcan, 1939), p. 143.

86. Gregorio Sanchez Donces, *Presencia de España en Orán (1509–1792)* (Toledo: Estudio Teologico de San Ildefonso, 1991), pp. 531–7. Those five churches were mentioned in the church inventories in Toledo dating from the seventeenth century. However, an earlier map of Oran from 1535 does not name La Merced but instead mentions another church called Santiago, while late seventeenth century sources point out the above mentioned five churches: Dalila Senhadji, 'Las Iglesias Españolas de Orán, 1509–1708', in Ismet Terki-Hassaine, Emilio Sola Castaño, Alejandro R. Diez Torre and Manuel Casado Arboniés (eds), *Las Campanas de Orán, 1509–2009* (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 2012), pp. 241, 250–1.

87. Ibid., p. 249.

88. There are also other maps from the same century, such as 'Plan de la place d'Oran et de ses forts, avec celle de Mers-el-Kebir en 1757', dated to 1757 (gallica.bnf.fr), and 'Plano Topográfico de la Ciudad de Oran fuertes y demas obras' dated to 1791 (Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico).

89. Fey, *Histoire d'Oran*, p. 230.

90. Mikel de Epalza and Juan Bta Vilar, *Plans et cartes hispaniques de l'Algérie, XVI ème – XVIII ème siècles* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1988), p. 249.

91. Ibid., 250.

92. Thomas Shaw, *Travels, Or Observations Relating to Several Parts of Barbary and the Levant* (London: printed for A. Millar and W. Sandby, 1757), p. 13.

93. Sanchez Donces, *Presencia de España en Orán*, p. 572.

94. Ibid., p. 701.

95. Dimensions are indicated on the plan in feet.

96. Epalza and Vilar, *Plans et cartes hispaniques de l'Algérie*, p. 248.

97. In the case of Chios, the recapture of the island had been commanded by the deceased Sultan Ahmed II, and it was only captured two weeks after his death. If Chios had been conquered earlier than two weeks, those two churches obviously would not have been named after Mustafa II and Gülnuş Sultan. Nazire Karaçay Türkal, 'Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, Zeyl-i Fezleke (1065–22 Ca.1106 / 1654–7 Şubat 1695), Tahlil ve Metin', PhD dissertation, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2002, p. 1583.

98. Since Chios was already an Ottoman territory and occupied by the Venetians for only six months, each patron of the newly converted mosques most probably had to establish their own waqfs with their own incomes, as the previous waqfs also continued their existence with their already-existing income sources. However, in Kamianets-Podilskyi and in Oran, written sources indicate that there were no individual waqfs or waqfiyyas for each building; rather the expenses of those new mosques were met by a common waqf or directly from state treasury.

Chapter 4 Statement of Religiosity: Mecca and the Pilgrimage Route

1. Suraiya Faroqhi, *Hacılar ve Sultanlar: Osmanlı Döneminde Hac, 1517–1638* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), p. 102.

2. Leslie P. Peirce, *Harem-i Hümayun: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Hükümranlık ve Kadınlar* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010), p. 289.

3. The pious buildings endowed by male Ottoman dignitaries in Mecca include Süleyman I's, Murad III's, Davud Pasha's and Sinan Pasha's madrasas, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's hospital, madrasa and public bath, Makbul İbrahim Pasha's soup kitchen, besides Murad III's and Üsküdarlı Mehmud Efza Efendi's pious waqfs to feed the poor of Medina. Mustafa Güler, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Haremeyn Vakıfları (16.–17. Yüzyıllar)* (Istanbul: TATAV Yayınları, 2002), pp. 50–198; and Mustafa Sabri Küçükaşcı, 'Mekke', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: İSAM, 2003), Vol. 28, p. 566.

4. Hürrem Sultan built a madrasa, a soup kitchen and a hospice in Mecca and Medina, repaired the Ayn Zubayda waterways bringing water to Mecca, and she built a larger complex in Jerusalem containing a mosque, an inn, a public bath, a madrasa,

a soup kitchen and a caravanseray. Leslie P. Peirce, 'Gender and Sexual Propriety in Ottoman Royal Women's Patronage', in D. Fairchild Ruggles (ed.), *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000), pp. 58–9.

5. Although there are no available documents attesting the construction date of these buildings, their waqfiyya was composed in 27 Ramazan 1090 (1 November 1679), implying that they must have been completed before this date (VGMA register no: 143, 1–78). However, a document showing the income and expenditure of the waqf was dated to AH 1089 (February 1678/ January 1679) and this shows that the buildings were most likely completed in or before 1678 (BOA, TSMA.d 1399/0001).

6. Along with these buildings, even the cookware of the soup kitchen, including five large and one small cauldron and 30 pieces of copper bowls, colander and ladle, were listed in the waqfiyya. VGMA register no. 143, 16–17.

7. According to a letter sent by Eyüb Bey, Emir of Hajj of Egypt, to Gülnuş Sultan while she was queen mother, he had visited the soup kitchen and hospital in Mecca, tasted its food and inspected and advised the attendants to work faithfully. He also checked the accounting of the waqf with Musa Ağa, the waqf custodian, and saw that everything was functioning properly and things were going well. After returning back to Egypt, he also mentioned that the product of that year was about to be sent to Suez in order to be carried to its destinated port via the waqf's ship. TSMA E. 0020 0037 001.

8. VGMA register no. 143, 1–78.

9. Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekâiyat (Olayların Özü) I*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (Istanbul: Tercüman Gazetesi Yayınları, 1977), pp. 172–3.

10. TSMA E. 33/4 (TSMA E. 0020 0017 001); TSMA E. 33/6a (TSMA E. 0020 0019 001); TSMA E. 0020 0025 001.

11. zira: a length unit equal to 0.6731 metres. 7–8 zira is roughly equal to 5 metres.

12. TSMA E. 33/5a (TSMA E. 0020 0018 001). Another detail given in this letter was the rebuilding of a house, which was previously adjacent to the corner of the hospital, by Yahya, son of Cafer Efendi. This house rose to the height of the domes of the hospital rooms and leant six hand spans into it. The house owner rebuilt his house after flood while Musa Ağa was busy with the

construction of the khan in Jeddah. Upon his arrival to Mecca, the construction of the house was stopped at the point when only the roofing of it was left.

13. TSMA E. 0020 0020 001. The expenditures, the details of which were given monthly for each building material and workmanship, consist of stone, lime, wood, grass, as well as the wages of stonemasons, carpenters, and transportation cost of material with donkeys. According to another document, the khan was under construction in AH 1092, roughly in 1681: BOA EV. HMH. d. 368.

14. TSMA. E. 33/6a (TSMA E. 0020 0019 001).

15. TSMA E. 0020 0020 002.

16. VGMA register no. 143, 79–89. Interestingly, this postscript was added in 15 June 1682 (9 Cemaziyelahir 1093), before the construction of this building. Gülnuş Sultan requested the *cüz* recitations were written and endowed the waqf for this purpose; she also requested that they be read for both herself and the ill in the hospital by the reciters, who should be chosen from among the poor and good people of Mecca.

17. TSMA E. 33/4 (TSMA E. 0020 0017 001); TSMA E. 33/1 (TSMA E. 0020 0015 001).

18. BOA TS.MA.d 1400.

19. TSMA E. 33/5a (TSMA E. 0020 0018 001).

20. BOA TS.MA.d 1459. According to this book of accounts of the waqf for the years AH 1103, 1105 ve 1106 (roughly 1692, 1694 and 1695), the fee of the transportation of the cargo of the sunken ship appears among other incomes, such as crops of the farms of waqf villages and expenses such as the salaries of the hospital and soup kitchen attendants.

21. TSMA 79/24, 25 cited in Emine Berksan, 'II. Mustafa ve III. Ahmet'in Valideleri Emetullah Gülnuş Sultan ve Vakıfları', Master's thesis, Istanbul University, 1998) p. 47; and Mustafa Güler, *Gülnûş Vâlide Sultan'ın Hayatı ve Hayrâtı 1* (Istanbul: Çamlıca Basım Yayın, 2009), p. 54 gives the accounts of the waqf for AH 1116, 1117, 1118 (roughly 1704, 1705, 1706) and includes a budget for buying a new ship. Similarly two other documents dating from Muharrem 1128 (January 1716) and Rebiyülahır 1137 (January 1725) mention the ship purchase: BOA C. MTZ. 2 93; BOA C.BLD. 111 5522.

22. TSMA E. 0020 0044 001. According to this letter written by Kethüda Mehmed Ağa, an expert had been sent to Egypt and he carried out the survey with the waqf custodian, mayor of Egypt

and others knowledgeable on construction works. Their report was proposing the building of a wall 12 *arşın*s beyond the waterline, with a foundation of 18 *arşın*s deep and 80 *arşın*s long under water, and 12 *arşın*s high and 70 *arşın*s long above water. Their estimate for the overall construction was 26 purses of Egyptian akçe and 19,468 para.

23. BOA TS.MA.d 2841. This document gives the details of used materials and workmanship, which cost a total of 332,793 para, or 13 purses and 7793 para. Moreover, the builder of the former storehouse construction overseer Mustafa Efendi becomes clear thanks to this document, composed and stamped by waqf custodian Yusuf Ağa in AH 1110 (1699). Apparently, the repair and rebuilding cost almost half of the estimate of the reconnaissance survey.

24. BOA A. MKT. MVL. 15 97. The latest document mentioning the storehouses is dated to 24 July 1745 and it is about another repair of the khan/storehouse in Jeddah: BOA C.SH. 11 536.

25. John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia* (London: Henry Colburn, New Burlington Street, 1829) cited in Anita L. P. Burdett (ed.), *Records of the Hijaz (1798–1925)* (Oxford: Archive Editions, 1996), vol. 1, pp. 267–380.

26. Muhammed Emin el-Mekkî, *Hulefa-yı İzam-ı Osmaniye Hazaratının Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn'deki Asar-ı Mebrure ve Meşkure-i Hümayunları* (Istanbul, AH. 1318), p. 82, cited in Mehmet Ayva, *Hulefâ-yı İzâm-ı Osmâniyye Hazarâtının Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn'deki Âsâr-ı Mebrûre ve Meskûre-i Hümâyûnları, Mehmed Emîn el Mekkî* (master's thesis, Sakarya University, 2006), pp. 131–2; and Aysel Levent, 'Eyüp Sabri Paşa ve Mir'atü'l-Harameyn'e Göre Hicaz', Master's thesis, Erciyes University, 2010, pp. 170–1.

27. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka. Bilder-Atlas* (Haag: 1888–9); Burdett (ed.), *Records of the Hijaz*, Vol. 1, p. 278.

28. *erdeb*: a weight unit equal to 70 kg. 4750 *erdeb* makes approximately 332.5 tonnes.

29. TSMA E. 33/2 (TSMA E. 0020 0016 001).

30. TSMA E. 33/3 (TSMA E. 0020 0016 002). All the dimensions of the rooms and other facilities of the houses and the primary school were given in this document. Those houses were built in order to supply income for the waqf, and four of the storage rooms of the khan were proposed to be rented, since the remaining four would be satisfactory to keep the grains and the belongings of the waqf: TSMA E. 33/6a (TSMA E. 0020 0019 001). The ration (wheat) and clothes to be given to 28 primary

school students and two teachers, and the allowance of the teachers were also designated: TSMA E. 0020 0022 001.

31. TSMA E. 0020 0029 001.

32. TSMA E. 0039 0030 001.

33. TSMA E.79/16 (TSMA E. 0039/17). According to this letter written by the waqf custodian Musa Ağa to Gülnuş Sultan, this repair was carried out by Ahmed Bey and overseen by Musa Ağa. It took one month during the reign of Mustafa II, as Musa Ağa also prays for the *şehzade*, Gülnuş's younger son Ahmed, as well as the reigning sultan.

34. BOA TS.MA.d 10090.

35. A yearly allowance of nine *guruş* was supplied from the waqf of Galata Yeni Cami: BOA C. EV. 452 22867.

36. An archival document attests that 2,800 gold coins was given to Haseki Sultan by Mehmed IV in 1684 for the *Surre-i Hümayun*: TSMA E. 0032 004 001. While she was Queen Mother, she sent 600 *guruş* each year, which was provided through her waqfs of Üsküdar and Galata mosques: TSMA E. 0101 002 012; TSMA E. 79/13; VGMA, register no: 1640, 24–5.

37. Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 103–105.

38. Cevdet Çulpan, *Türk Taş Köprüleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1975), p. 177.

39. VGMA register no: 1640, 21.

40. BOA MAD d. 23035. According to this building register, the materials and the workmanship for the construction and repair of these bridges cost 562,230 *para*; and the most costly expense items were stone, lime, lead and iron.

41. BOA AE. SAMD. III 222 21464. According to this building register, only 4 per cent of the total cost was consumed for supplying water to the fountain, while the rest of the expense items were materials and workmanship for the construction of the bridge and the fountain with a covered prayer platform.

42. TSMA E. 0101 0002 006.

43. TSMA E. 0101 0002 026.

44. Interestingly, Saraçhane Bridge had recently collapsed and its rebuilding was completed in 1701: Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmet Ağa, *Nusretname*, ed. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1962), Vol. 2, p. 87. At this time, Gülnuş Sultan was residing in Edirne with her reigning son Mustafa II, and she must have been aware of this rebuilding and the size of the bridge.

45. TSMA E. 0101 0002 028.

46. Çulpan, *Türk Taş Köprüleri*, p. 178 cites TSMA E. 145/13, 15, which is another letter from Kethüda Mehmed Efendi to Gülnuş Sultan informing her that the other bridge similar to Saraçhane Bridge in Edirne was still under construction. This bridge, which also gives the name of the surrounding Taşköprü Municipality, is usually attributed to Architect Sinan but it was not listed in any of the *tezkire*s of Sinan. Apart from that baseless attribution, little is known about this bridge and, judging by its architectural style and comparing it with Yalakabad Bridge, it could well be dated to early eighteenth century.

Chapter 5 Galata New Mosque: Islamization of the Catholic Land

1. Otto Seeck, *Notitia dignitatum: accedunt notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae et Laterculi provinciarum* (Berolini: Weidmann, 1876), p. 240.

2. François Alphonse Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople* (Paris: A. Picard, 1894), pp. 187–212; Semavi Eyice, 'Galata,' in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı and Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), Vol. 3, pp. 348–9; Louis Mitler, 'The Genoese in Galata,' in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10/1 (February 1979), pp. 71–91; and Rinaldo Marmara, *Bizans'tan Günümüze İstanbul Latin Cemaati ve Kilisesi* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006), pp. 11–44. According to Rinaldo Marmara, San Francesco Church must have been built before 1227 and devoted to the Virgin Mary first. Soon after the canonizing of the founder of Franciscan order in 1230, the church was named after him. Ibid., pp. 32–3.

3. Halil İnalcık, 'Galata,' in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi,* 8 vols (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı and Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), Vol. 3, p. 349.

4. Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), p. 80.

5. Ibid., p. 352.

6. Marmara, *Bizans'tan Günümüze*, pp. 11–44.

7. Eric R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), pp. 142–4.

8. Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans, The Church and The*

Ottoman Empire, 1453–1923 (London: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 72, 79, 314.

9. Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane* (London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 2006), pp. 50–1. After this brief description of the building Clavijo goes into details of the relics he was shown in the Monastery of San Francesco and gives the names of the buried ones in the church, but does not mention architectural features of the church.

10. Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996), Vol. 1, p. 183.

11. François de Pavie, *Relation de François de Pavie, seigneur de Forquevauls, d'un sien voyage fait en l'an 1585 aux terres du Turc*, p. 193 cited in Stephanos Yerasimos, *Galata a Travers Les Recits de Voyage (1453–1600)* (Paris: ISIS, 1991), p. 121.

12. Gualberto Matteucci, *Un glorioso convento francescano sulle rive del Bosforo, il S. Francesco di Galata in Costantinopoli, c. 1230–1697* (Florence, 1967). Matteucci relates the reports of the monks visiting Galata and Pera by making use of the Franciscan archives in Rome. These reports also shed light on some of the architectural features of this important building and give some unique drawings and plans of it before its destruction in the fire of 1639. (The author thanks Buğra Poyraz for his precious help in translating parts of this book.)

13. Ibid., pp. 327, 332.

14. Ibid., pp. 317–18. The high altar, dedicated to the Stigmata of St. Francis, was situated up three steps and in the centre of the apse, and the dome above the altar was embellished with mosaics of the saints. To the left of the altar was the Chapel of La Pieta (The Compassion) and to the right was the Chapel of St. Rocco and St. Sebastian, the interiors of which were decorated with mosaics of their namesakes (Ibid., 319–20). In the nave, the choir, which was situated below the altar and accessed through a marble door in line with the main door of the church, was surrounded by four columns with gold-foiled capitals. To the north of the choir was the chapel of St. Anthony, which housed two altars – one dedicated to St. Anne, and the other to St. Lucia. There were three more altars in the nave: one on the southern wall and close to the apse was dedicated to Mary the Immaculate; another was to dedicated St. Savior; and the third, adjacent to the northern wall, was dedicated to St. Carlo Borromeo. There were two marble pulpits in the nave and a women's gallery was located next to the main entrance at the west end. The south entrance was blocked with wooden beams after the Turkish conquest, as

the doors of the churches were not allowed to open directly onto the street (Ibid., pp. 323–5) (Figure 5.2).

15. For an architectural comparison, the nearby Arap Mosque (formerly the San Paolo and San Domenico Church) and its bell tower could be taken into account. See Benedetto Palazzo, *L'Arap-djami: ou, Eglise Saint-Paul à Galata* (Istanbul: Hachette, 1946).

16. For a summary of the changes in Ottoman policy and religious measures regarding the rebuilding or destruction of the non-Muslim shrines from 1453 until late seventeenth century, see Marc David Baer, 'The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish Space in Istanbul', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 36/2 (May, 2004), pp. 165–6. Here, Baer notes that 'Ottomans in the late seventeenth century were not constrained by precedent but were flexible and acted according to their contemporary political and religious interests.'

17. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 391.

18. Rome, Archivio Propaganda Fide, S. R. 290, f. 11v–12r.

19. Baer, 'The Great Fire', p. 171.

20. Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan, *İstanbul Tarihi: 17. Asırda İstanbul* (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1988), p. 36.

21. Marmara, *Bizans'tan Günümüze,* p. 33.

22. A contemporary Ottoman chronicle gives the cause of the fire as an accident: 'A spark from a bakery outside Tophane Gate jumped over the walls of Galata and burnt down all the buildings in the vicinity up to Arap Mosque.' Mehmet Topal, 'Silâhdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, Nusretnâme, Tahlil ve Metin (1106–1133/1695–1721)', PhD dissertation, Marmara University, 2001, p. 143. On the other hand, a modern source relates that the fire was caused by a public illumination at the birth of a son to Mustafa II, Gülnuş Sultan's grandson. Mitler, 'The Genoese in Galata,' p. 88.

23. Paolo Girardelli, 'Between Rome and Istanbul: Architecture and Material Culture of a Franciscan Convent in the Ottoman Capital,' *Mediterranean Studies* 19 (2010), p. 105.

24. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Crisis and Change, 1590–1699', in Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert (eds), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 428–30.

25. Madeline Carol Zilfi, 'The Kadızadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth Century Istanbul,' *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 45/4 (1986), pp. 251–69.

26. Robert Mantran, *17. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1990), Vol. 1, p. 73.

27. Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité*, p. 208.

28. Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmet Ağa, *Nusretname*, ed. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1962), Vol. 1, pp. 145–6.

29. Ayvansarayî Hüseyin Efendi, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi* (Istanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2001), p. 427.

30. Aubry de la Motraye, *Travels through Europe, Asia, and into part of Africa* (London: Mr. Round, 1730), p. 166.

31. For more insight on Franciscans' move from Galata to Pera and their new churches, see Paolo Girardelli, 'Architecture, Identity, and Liminality: On the Use and Meaning of Catholic Spaces in Late Ottoman Istanbul', *Muqarnas* 22 (2005), p. 248.

32. Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi,* 2 vols (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınları, 2005), Vol. 2, p. 37.

33. VGMA, register no. 1640, 22–3.

34. BOA AE. SMST. II. 140 15533. As written on the document, it was drawn up on 'gurre-i Rebi'u'l-evvel 1108,' that is, the first day of the month according to the Hijri calendar. Copy of the original document is given in the appendix.

35. Topal, *Silâhdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa*, pp. 141–211.

36. In the case of Eminönü New Mosque, Silahdar Mehmed Ağa relates that Hadice Turhan Sultan had been advised by chief royal architect Mustafa Ağa for the re-expropriation of the property and resuming the construction that was initiated some 60 years ago by Safiye Sultan, but interrupted soon after. Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, 'The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex at Eminönü,' *Muqarnas* 15 (1998), p. 59.

37. His signature reads: 'Bende Mehmed ser-mi'mâran-ı hâssa hâlâ.'

38. Fatma Afyoncu, 'XVII. Yüzyılda Hassa Mimarları Ocağı (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Belgelerine Göre),' Master's thesis, Marmara University, 1998, p. 28. Here, appointment date of Mehmed Ağa as the chief royal architect was given as 16 Şaban 1108 (March 10, 1697) the latest, but aforementioned reconnaissance survey takes this date to as early as September 28, 1696. Yet another document dated to 28 Zilkade 1109 (June 7, 1698) is about the deposition of Mehmed Ağa from this rank and the appointment of the previous chief architect Hüseyin Ağa in his stead. The reason for his deposition is given in the document

as too great a workload on Mehmed Ağa, who is also in the post of *şehremini vekâleti,* that is, Mayor of Istanbul (BOA A. RSK 197 57).

39. This document in fact proposes two options for the construction of the waterways. The first option is to bring water by digging new waterways from a certain spring around Levend Farm. The second option is buying water rights being sold by the sons of deceased Ömer Pasha and repairing the present waterways.

40. It originally reads 'câmi-i mezburun binâsı fermân buyurulan Arab Câmii resminde sakf olmak üzere.'

41. BOA İE.EV. 26 3019.

42. The surviving fountains and the waterways will be discussed in the next chapter.

43. The lack of documents previously doubted scholars about the true patrons of the buildings. However, this and several other documents concerning the building activities of Gülnuş Sultan show that the money was supplied directly by the *Valide Sultan*. Nevertheless, some sources misattribute the financing of the building to her son, and mistakenly claim that the mosque was built in the name of her mother by Mustafa II. For an example of this, see M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2001), p. 66.

44. Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayî, *Mecmua-ı Tevârih*, eds Fahri Ç. Derin and Vâhid Çabuk (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1985), p. 341.

45. These include two rooms, cellar/storage room debris, land of a room and a bakery, a vacant lot, two wells, one arable field, half of the bell tower (debris/plot) and the plot for the construction of the public fountain. These items in the list match with some of the parts of the monastery seen in Figure 5.3.

46. Doğan Kuban, *Osmanlı Mimarisi* (Istanbul: YEM Yayın, 2007), pp. 385–92. However, during the reconstruction of the minaret after its destruction in 1700, *Kâşi* tiles manufactured in Kâşân were used in its gallery (TSMA E. 79/3).

47. A figure with two interlocking triangles, which was attributed to the seal of Prophet Solomon. Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat* (Istanbul: Aydın Kitabevi, 2008), p. 714.

48. As seen above, two options had been proposed for the waterways in the reconnaissance. However, in the third postscript to the waqfiyya of the mosque in 1708, construction of a new

waterway and its route is mentioned, source of which was different than the spring in Levend Farm proposed in the reconnaissance. New, fresh water was brought from the wells around Kasımpaşa, Tatavla and Tophane (VGMA, register no: 1640, 22–3). The lack of sweet water for drinking provoked the construction of those new waterways and it was distributed to the fountains while the existing water was used in the ablution fountains and latrines of the mosque (TSMA E. 0101 0002 030).

49. One *kulaç* is equal to 1.895 m, and 1786 *kulaç* makes 3384.47 m.

50. The waqfiyya of the mosque, setting up the regulations of the attendants as well as designating the sources of income, was drawn up on 29 Şevval 1110 (April 30, 1699). See VGMA, register no. 1640, 1–14, and register no. 1641, 1–34. This waqfiyya also comprises the regulations of Gülnuş Sultan's previous converted mosque in Chios and her fountain in Edirne. According to the waqfiyya, there were 26 primary and 22 secondary attendants of Galata New Mosque, as well as five people in charge with the pious foundation, and they were receiving 257, 140 and 49 *akçes* total daily wage respectively. According to a postscript added to this waqfiyya on 19 September 1700, 32 reciters were assigned to read Qur'an in the mosque and they were receiving 93 *akçes* total daily wage (VGMA register no: 1640, 17–20).

51. TSMA E. 0101 0002 029 gives the details for the decoration of the royal pavilion and platform. This document could be dated to 1699 since it also includes the expense items of another fountain bearing the building date AH 1111 (1699/1700). For details about this fountain built by Gülnuş Sultan in Emekyemez neighbourhood of Galata, see Muzaffer Özgüleş, 'Belgeler Işığında Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan'ın Galata'da Yaptırdığı Çeşmeler', *Tasarım+Kuram* 10/17 (2014), p. 30.

52. Silahdar, *Nusretname*, Vol. 1, p. 27.

53. Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 39. While describing following events on the same page, Silahdar writes that a fire, which burnt down many houses of non-Muslims around Galatasaray a few days later, had taken the wind out of the sails of those cheered up after the lightning disaster. Another contemporary observer, Aubry de la Motraye, gives the date of the event as 26 August and writes: 'the thunder split and spoilt in such a manner the minaret of the little Mosque built by the Valide over the ruins of the Church of St. Francis, that they were obliged to rebuild it entirely; and the monks, from whom the ground had been taken, published it as a

miracle wrought by that saint' (Motraye, *Travels through Europe*, p. 206). Apparently, the bitterness of the Christians related with the demolition of the San Francesco Church was still alive.

54. TSMA E. 79/3.

55. An Ottoman *arşın*, or cubit, ranged between 67 cm and 75.8 cm in different periods. Alpay Özdural, 'Sinan's *Arşın*: A Survey of Ottoman Architectural Metrology,' *Muqarnas* 15 (1998), pp. 101–15.

56. TSMA E. 0101 0002 032.

57. TSMA E. 79/4 and TSMA E. 79/5. These additions and enlargement of the courtyard cost 170,808 *akçe*s – 70,400 *akçe*s of it was solely the expropriation fee – and while enlarging the courtyard wall, six large iron grille windows were installed (TSMA E. 79/6. For the transcription of this document, see Emine Berksan, 'II. Mustafa ve III. Ahmet'in Valideleri Emetullah Gülnuş Sultan ve Vakıfları', Master's thesis, Istanbul University, 1998, pp. 99–100).

58. VGMA, register no. 1640, 19 and VGMA, register no. 1640, 22–3.

59. TSMA E. No. 79/2. This letter could be dated some time between May 1699 and September 1700, since it contains suggestions of the chamberlain which had not yet materialized and written down on the first postscript of the waqfiyya.

60. TSMA E. 0101 0002 033.

61. VGMA, register no. 1640, 24–5.

62. BOA İE HAT 6 582. This document gives the cost of this extensive repair as 15,510.5 *guruş*.

63. BOA İ. DH. 148 7663. This repair cost 6,522 *guruş*.

64. BOA ŞD 121 41, BOA BEO 47 3493, BOA İ EV 1 5. These documents date from 1892 and they mention that the restoration already started with the proposed budget of 49,000 *guruş* was not satisfactory since the mosque's lead roofing and minaret's cone needed a repair, and a further 14,953 *guruş* was demanded.

65. BOA ŞD 682 1. According to the document, The Municipality (*Şehremaneti*) decided to move the bazaar from the narrow streets of Perşembepazarı in Galata to the courtyard of the mosque, and to transfer the rent collected from stalls to the waqf of Galata New Mosque.

66. BOA Y MTV 232 54. According to this document, the military officers and soldiers, whose accommodation in the portico (*son cemâ'at mahalli*) and the rooms (probably the rooms of imams) of

the mosque was not appropriate, were to be moved to artillery barracks (*Topçu Kışlası*) in Taksim.

67. BOA ZB 72 17, BOA ZB 355 54, BOA ZB 375 15.

68. BOA 4170 312684.

69. Semavi Eyice, personal communication, 24 February 2012. Mimar Kemaleddin was one of the pioneers of restorations of important Islamic monuments in Istanbul and he proposed the creation of a department in the Ministry of Pious Foundations for those restorations in 1908. See İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin (eds), *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları* (Ankara: Şevki Vanlı Mimarlık Vakfı, 1997), pp. 89–92.

70. Halil Ethem, *Camilerimiz* (Istanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1933), p. 90; and Semavi Eyice, *Galata ve Kulesi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1969), p. 16.

71. In Kargopoulo's 1875 photograph labelled, 'The Construction of Galata Bridge,' Galata New Mosque could be seen with its minaret and roof. However, in a later photograph, which could be dated between 1925 and 1928, Galata New Mosque's minaret has collapsed down to the level of the gallery. Marianna Yerasimos, *İstanbul Fotoğrafları* (Istanbul: Çağdaş Yayıncılık, 1990), pp. 6, 38.

72. See, for instance, the map belonging to Istanbul Map Company, probably dated to the second quarter of the twentieth century. Atatürk Library Map Archive, asset ID: Hrt_001671.

73. Atatürk Library Map Archive, asset ID: Hrt_004554.

74. BCA, File no. 229–125, Fund no. 30.18.1.2, Item no. 72.17.9. BCA, File no. 8444, Fund no. 30.10.0.0, Item no. 82.538.8, 2. BCA, File no. 8444, Fund no. 30.10.0.0, Item no. 82.538.8, 1, 3.

75. Semavi Eyice, *Eski İstanbul'dan Notlar* (Istanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2006), pp. 16–17.

76. 'Başvekil Hırdavatçı Çarşısını Dün Açtı,' *Milliyet*, 18 March 1960, pp. 1, 5. According to the news given in the headline of this issue of the newspaper about the inauguration of the previous day, Menderes admits and regrets indispensable demolishment of buildings – including the houses and shops of ordinary citizens – for the sake of new building activities. It is indeed ironic that the construction of the third building on the same spot also required further expropriations, similar to that of Galata New Mosque.

77. Especially see the detail of Galata New Mosque in D'Ostoya map of 1858–60 (Atatürk Library Map Archive, asset ID: Hrt_005692) and sheet 26 of Goad Map of 1905 (Atatürk Library

Map Archive, asset ID: Hrt_003394). In sheet H9/4 of İstanbul Harita Şirketi's map, which could be dated to the second quarter of the twentieth century, the same place is labelled as 'Yıkık Yeni Cami', that is, demolished New Mosque (Atatürk Library Map Archive, asset ID: Hrt_001671).

78. However, slight differences in different maps indicate that those subsidiary buildings might have been subject to renewal and rebuilding in the course of time. See the maps mentioned in previous footnote for comparison.

79. This inscription panel is now mounted above the surviving southern fountain and reads:

> Âb-ı ruy-ı memleket fahr-ı sarây-ı saltanat
> Melce-i devlet-penâh ârende-i şer'-i mübin
> Vâlide Sultân-ı âli şân-ı vâlâ rütbe kim
> Eylemişdir feyz-i ihsânı cihânı kâmbin
> Eyleyüp bu câmi-i zibende-i üslubı binâ
> Devlet dâreyni ihrâz eyledi hakka'l-yakin
> Bu mahall-i dergehin bünyân pür evsâh iken
> Oldu yümn-i himmetiyle mehbit-i envâr-ı din
> Olmuşdu bir zamân evsâne ârâyiş-gede
> Hamdülillâh oldu şimdi cilve-gâh-ı müslimin
> Masdar-ı esnâf-ı hayrât eyleyüp dâ'im Hüdâ
> Eyleye zât-ı hümâyunun hatâlardan emin
> Yazdılar unvân-ı târihinde tâ'ib-i kudsiyân
> Câmi-i erbâb-ı takvâ secde-cây-ı mü'minin Sene 1109. (The author thanks Aras Neftçi, who transliterated the text of this inscription, and Merve Çakır and Murat Bilgin, who proofread it.)

80. Cornelius Gurlitt, *İstanbul'un Mimari Sanatı* (Ankara: Enformasyon ve Dokümantasyon Hizmetleri Vakfı, 1999), pp. 75–6. Gurlitt had drawn this plan during his stay in Istanbul in the first decade of the twentieth century. Semavi Eyice, 'Gurlitt, Cornelius', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: İSAM, 1998), Vol. 14, pp. 206–207.

81. One of the earliest descriptions of the mosque dating from 1800, a detail taken from Henry Aston Barker's Istanbul panorama seen in Plate 6 does not depict the projecting oriel, whereas the earliest photograph of the mosque seen in a detail from James Robertson's 1854 panorama shows the oriel. It is unlikely that this detail was neglected by Barker, given the accuracy of the rest of his panorama, so we can surmise that the oriel must have been added between 1800 and 1854. In Barker's

drawing, the royal pavilion projects partly from the lateral wall of the mosque, but not entirely until the end of the portico. This also implies a possible enlargement of the royal pavilion.

82. Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, p. 66.

83. This inscription panel is 224 cm wide, 45 cm high and originally reads:

> Cenâb-ı Vâlide Sultân Ümm-i Mustafâ Hân kim
> Demâdem bezl ü cud etmekte bahr olmaz ana hemtâ
> Hüdâ zât-ı şerifin hıfz edip dâ'im hatâlardan
> Anın dünyâ vü ukbâsını mamur eyleye Mevlâ
> Hemişe tab'-ı pâki hayra mâildir o zişânın
> Zamânında olup beytü's-sanem beytü's-samed hakkâ
> Galata şehrinde çun saldı pertev-i mihr-i ihsânı
> O şehri dest-i mi'mâr-ı keremle eyledi ihyâ
> Yapıp bu câmi-i zibâyı âlâ hayr ettirdi
> Akıttı çeşmeler ol câyda oldu selsebil-âsâ
> Te'âlallâh zehi âli binâ' tâk-ı mu'allâ kim
> Erişmez farkına bâl ü per-i Cibril-i ankâ
> Hemân bir gülşen-i zibâya benzer hüsn-i suretle
> O gülşende minâre bir nihâl-i servdir güyâ
> Nedir ol kasr-ı dil-cular o mahfellerle ol minber
> Hüdâ mamâr u âbâdân ede durdukça bu dünyâ
> Du'âlar eyleyip âlem dedi târih için Râzi
> Mutâf-ı kudsiyân-ı arş ola bu câmi-i zibâ 1109
> (Ayvansarayî, *Mecmua-ı Tevârih*, p. 341).

84. Although the clearest and oldest visual depictions of the building was captured in 1868 by Abdullah Freres and another was shot by Basile Kargopoulo in 1870s from Galata Tower, Galata New Mosque could well be identified in photographs of James Robertson (1854), Felix Bonfils (1870), Guillaume Berggren (1875) taken from the same spot. In later photographs, however, it was obscured by the Ottoman Bank building, which was built in 1890.

85. The detail of this oriel was shown in dashed lines and with two rectangular column bases in the D'Ostoya Map of 1858–60 (Atatürk Library Map Archive, asset ID: Hrt_005692).

86. Zeynep Nayır, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi ve Sonrası (1609–1690)* (Istanbul: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi, 1975), pp. 170–94.

87. It can be speculated that if the royal pavilion had been constructed to the right and the minaret to the left of the mosque, the view seen from the pavilion would have been much better

and equivalent to that of Eminönü New Mosque's royal pavilion, and that could have improved the overall significance of the building. However, in keeping with architectural tradition, the mosque's single minaret was built to the right and the royal pavilion kept to the left of the mosque.

88. For a comparison with a contemporary example, see Çorlulu Ali Pasha Mosque in Kasımpaşa, which was built in 1708/9, and extensively rebuilt in the nineteenth century during the reign of Mahmud II. Ergün Eğin, 'Çorlulu Ali Paşa Camii', *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı and Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), Vol. 2, p. 522; and Ayvansarayî, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi*, pp. 409–10.

89. Perhaps the modest architecture of the mosque failed to spark the interest of artists and photographers, who turned their attention to the more ostentatious of Istanbul's imperial mosques. Howsoever this maybe, it resulted in a paucity of visual images available to us during the 3D rendering process. It is also regrettable that no photographs exist of the interior of the mosque when it remained intact and, indeed, that there are no close-ups of the exterior walls in the researched archives.

90. A group of proposals submitted in 1980s were found in the archive of the Fourth Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Properties of Istanbul, in the file labelled 'Galata Yeni Cami.'

91. Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), pp. 115–26.

92. Tournefort, *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi*, Vol. 2, p. 25.

93. Thys-Şenocak, 'The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex at Eminönü,' 58–70.

94. Faroqhi, 'Crisis and Change, 1590–1699,' pp. 428–30.

95. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, pp. 27–35, 515.

96. Günhan Börekçi, 'Köprülü Family,' in Gabor Agoston and Bruce Masters (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Facts On File, 2009), pp. 314–15.

97. Thys-Şenocak, 'The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex at Eminönü,' pp. 63–4, 67.

98. It should be noted that Gülnuş Sultan had the opportunity to build a larger complex, domed and with two minarets, in Üsküdar in 1711, as at that time the economic and political milieu was more conducive. See Chapter 7.

99. Marc David Baer, *Honoured by the Glory of Islam: Conversion*

and Conquest in Ottoman Europe (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 65.

100. Mehmet İpşirli, 'Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: İSAM, 1998), Vol. 12, p. 527.

Chapter 6 Water for All: Fountains in Edirne, Galata and Beyond

1. For the transliteration of the inscription, see Oral Onur, *Edirne Türk Tarihi Vesikalarından Kitabeler* (Edirne: Yenilik Basımevi, 1970), pp. 35–6.

2. VGMA register no. 1641, 5. In this endowment deed (waqfiya), which dates to 30 April 1699 and also regulates the operation of the mosques in Chios and Galata, it was stipulated that the repairs of the fountain should be met with the income from 7 hectares of nearby land, and that a waterways technician (*suyolcu*) should be employed for a daily wage of 5 *akçes*.

3. BOA TS.MA.d 10090. Rifat Osman gives the name of this kiosk as 'Mumuk Sarayı'. See Rifat Osman, *Edirne Sarayı*, ed. Süheyl Ünver (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1989), p. 104.

4. BOA İE. SM. 16 1653; İE. SM. 23 2353; C. SM. 16 803.

5. BOA TS.MA.d 10090. The date of those repairs could not be determined precisely. However, taking other building activities in this document into account, which list the buildings in her reign as queen mother and the last one completed in 1706, those repairs must have been made between 1695 and 1706.

6. The fountain in today's Sarayakpınar village bears an inscription with a date AH 1266 (AD 1850). There is also a fountain in today's Çömlekakpınar village (to the east of Çömlek village) but it does not have an inscription on it.

7. In fact, Akpınar Palace and Çömlek Palace used to be two important destinations for Ottoman sultans during their hunting parties or leisure activities outside Edirne. Mehmed IV had built a pavilion near Akpınar in AH 1082 (1671/2) and Gülnuş Sultan must have spent time there with her husband. Osman, *Edirne Sarayı*, p. 105; and Tanju Cantay, 'Çömlek Sarayı: Paşaeli'nde Bulgar Sınırı Yakınında Bir Osmanlı Sarayı', *Türk Dünyası Tarih Dergisi* 16 (April 1988), pp. 56–8.

8. Oral Onur, *Edirne Su Kültürü* (Istanbul: Acar Matbaacılık, 1978), p. 5.

9. TSMA E 125/249 (E 88/27–1) cited in Betül İpşirli-Argıt, *Rabia*

Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan, 1640–1715 (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014), p. 250.

10. Unfortunately, the inscription panel of this fountain is almost erased and it is impossible to read the poem on it and its construction date. However, the documents about the construction of Galata New Mosque enables us to safely state that the fountain was built in 1698 (AH 1109).

11. For an assessment of eighteenth century fountains and their novel formal and decorative idiom making them new features of urban landscape of Istanbul, see Shrine Hamadeh, 'Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul', *Muqarnas* 19 (2002), pp. 123–48.

12. BOA AE.SMST.II. 140 15533. This document in fact proposes two options for the construction of the water ways. The first option is to bring water by digging new waterways from a certain spring around Levend Farm. The second option is buying the water rights being sold by the sons of a certain person and repairing the present waterways.

13. TSMA E. 0101 0002 030.

14. TSMA E. 0101 0002 029. The document gives the construction cost of the fountain (including the price of the land) as 439 *guruş*, the cost of the extension made from the wells of the Grand Admiral to the existing waterways that Gülnuş Sultan had already constructed as 757.5 *guruş*, the cost of repairs of the waterways as 199.5 *guruş*. These expenses are equal to 52,680, 90,900 and 23,940 *akçes*, respectively.

15. İbrahim Hilmi Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri II: Beyoğlu ve Üsküdar Cihetleri* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1945), pp. 39–40.

16. The inscription panel originally reads:

> Cudidil nam hazreti valide sultan pur kerem
> İde hak her katresinde bi aded ecr-i cezil
> Teşnegânı edüb ihya bibedel akdı zülal
> Böyle pakize eser hakka ki oldu bi adîl
> Sene 1111 (The author thanks to Aras Neftçi, who helped transliterating the text of this inscription, and to Merve Çakır and Murat Bilgin, who proofread it).

17. VGMA, register no: 1640, 22–3.

18. An Ottoman flow rate unit which is equal to 4.5 litres per minute (or 6.48 m^3 per day).

19. TSMA E. 0101 0002 024.

20. TSMA E. 0101 0002 032. This document could be dated to immediately after Rebiulevvel 1112 (August/September 1700) if its content is taken into account.

21. TSMA E. 0101 0002 037.

22. VGMA, register no: 1640, 23. This postscript to the waqfiyya of Galata New Mosque is dated to AH 1 Receb 1120 (16 September 1708) and it also stipulates the repairs of the waterways be made from the income of the waqf.

23. TSMA E. 0101 0002 035.

24. Deniz Karakaş, 'Clay Pipes, Marble Surfaces: The Topographies of Water Supply In Late Seventeenth-and Early Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Istanbul,' PhD dissertation, Binghamton University, State University of New York, 2013, pp. 5, 33.

25. TSMA E. 0101 0002 022.

26. TSMA E. 0101 0002 027.

27. For the transliteration of the inscription, see Hatice Aynur and Hakan Karateke, *III. Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri (1703–1730)* (Istanbul: İBB Kültür İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1995), pp. 99–100.

28. TSMA E. 0101 0002 026.

29. Ibid.

30. TSMA E. 0101 0002 021.

31. TSMA E. 0101 0002 023. Interestingly, the postscript added to the waqfiyya of the mosque about the fountains and new waterways mentions four fountains – two of them adjacent to courtyard gates of Galata New Mosque, one in Emekyemez neighbourhood and another in Yağkapanı – but excludes the fountain in Cameşur Hasan neighbourhood (VGMA, register no. 1640, 23).

32. Kâzım Çeçen, *Taksim ve Hamidiye Suları* (Istanbul: İSKİ, 1991), p. 112; and Affan Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri* (Istanbul: Arıtan Yayınevi, 1993), p. 810.

33. TSMA E. 79/1.

34. Uppsala University Library, Fol. 642, Zetterstéen Catalogue 670, 30r.

35. BOA C. SM. 52 2633.

36. Mehmet Nermi Haskan, *İstanbul Hamamları* (Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Yayınları, 1995), p. 30.

37. TSMA E. 0101 0002 031. The exact date of the repair is given

as AH 1115 (1702/3) in another archival document: Uppsala University Library, Fol. 642, Zetterstéen Catalogue 670, 31r.

38. TSMA E. 0101 0020 046. The document does not mention the location of the mosque, madrasa and soup kitchen, Vani Mehmed Efendi's complex composed of those three buildings was located in Kestel, Bursa and they were built in 1673. Although there is another mosque of Vani Mehmed Efendi at the shore of Bosphorus near Üsküdar, the repaired waterways are most likely those in Kestel, as the document gives the names of those three buildings; it also names one side of the site as mountain (*dağıstan*), which must be Uludağ of Bursa. See Erdoğan Pazarbaşı, 'Mehmed Efendi, Vanî', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2003), Vol. 28, p. 459.

39. Hamadeh, 'Splash and Spectacle', pp. 124–5.

Chapter 7 Magnum Opus: Üsküdar Yeni Valide Complex

1. Rolin Olivier, *Türkiye Seyahatnamesi* (Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1977), p. 35.

2. TSMA E. 3941/1–2. For the transliteration of the testament, see Emine Berksan, 'II. Mustafa ve III. Ahmet'in Valideleri Emetullah Gülnuş Sultan ve Vakıfları', Master's thesis, Istanbul University, 1998, pp. 21–3.

3. Mehmed Süreyya Bey, *Sicill-i Osmanî* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), Vol. 5, p. 1623.

4. Azmi Bilgin, 'Bivücûdî Mehmed Efendi, Divitçizâde', *Üsküdarlı Meşhurlar Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2012), pp. 108–109.

5. These regulations were recorded in the waqfiyya of the complex composed on AH 17 Cemazeyilevvel 1123 (3 July 1711): VGMA, register no. 1640, 27–45. For the analysis and transliteration of the waqfiyya, see Muzaffer Özgüleş, 'Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan'ın İmar Faaliyetleri,' PhD dissertation, Istanbul Technical University, 2013, pp. 88–94, 558–74.

6. TSMK E. H. 3037, vr. 2a, 2b; Müşfika Akbulut, 'Üsküdar Yeni Cami ve Külliyesi,' Master's thesis, Marmara University, 2003, p. 258.

7. İstanbul Atatürk Kitaplığı, Muallim Cevdet Tasnifi, no. K 154, fol. 12b cited in Aras Neftçi, 'Üsküdar Yeni Valide Camisi'nin

Yapım Hikâyesi', *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 13–14 (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2010), p. 143.

8. In fact, the waqfiyya of the mosque uses this affirmation as a legitimization for the construction of the complex on that spot. It emphasizes Üsküdar as the beginning of the pilgrimage route to Mecca and Medina, and a melting pot of plenty of people from numerous races and several professions, and then asserts that a new mosque was essential and lawful on that site: VGMA, register no. 1640, 32.

9. VGMA register no. 1640, 36 gives the names and yearly fees (in *akçe*) that will be paid to previous waqfs as follows: 'Merhume Safiyye Sultân (5570), Eski vezirlerden merhûm Süleyman Paşa (3180), İsfendiyar (840), Cebeci Mustafa Ağa (5760), el-Hâc Mustafa (480), Merhûm Gazanfer Ağa (3600), Tavâşî Hasan Ağa (720), Şeyhülislâm merhûm Hamid Efendi (3600), Merhûm Gâzî Sinan Paşa (3300), Şakire Hâtûn (360), Mümine Hâtûn oğlu Mehmed Ağa (540), Nuh Balioğlu Mehmed Çelebi (360), Rum Mehmed Paşa (1620).' In total 29,930 *akçe*s per year had to be paid from the income of the waqf of the Üsküdar Complex.

10. Neftçi, 'Üsküdar Yeni Valide', p. 143.

11. BOA İE ENB 6 614. This removal was demanded with an imperial decree and realized by the cadi of Üsküdar on AH 28 Zilhicce 1120 (10 March 1709).

12. The building process could be followed throughout the pamphlet composed by an anonymous writer describing the construction of Üsküdar Complex. İstanbul Atatürk Kitaplığı, Muallim Cevdet Tasnifi, no. K 154; published by Neftçi, 'Üsküdar Yeni Valide', pp. 139–63. Although the pamphlet was dated to May 1836 (AH Muharrem 1252), it must be a later copy of an early eighteenth-century original.

13. Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmet Ağa, *Nusretname*, ed. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1962), Vol. 2, p. 246.

14. TSMA E. 0101 0002 034.

15. Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Hicri Onikinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988), p. 42.

16. Neftçi, 'Üsküdar Yeni Valide', pp. 152–3.

17. TSMA E. 0101 0002 025.

18. TSMA E. No. 79/26, for the transliteration of the document, see Berksan, *II. Mustafa ve III. Ahmet'in Valideleri*, pp. 110–11.

19. TSMA E. 0101 0002 005.

20. TSMA E. 0101 0002 003.

21. TSMA E. 0101 0002 002. Although the building register of the complex does not survive, this document surprisingly gives the total expenses, as it originally reads: 'According to this register, the amount of the money consumed for the pious foundation I built is only 846 purses and 131 guruş and I stamped it with my seal.' The apostil below interestingly shows that in fact this document was prepared for guiding Gülnuş Sultan, as it reads: 'Please write so on top of the register with your blessed pencil.' However, it should be noted that, in this and abovementioned two documents giving the amounts of expenses, the name of the building was not mentioned openly; however, taking into account the date and the huge financial consumptions in evidence, it must be the Üsküdar Complex. On the other hand, chronicler Silahdar Mehmed Ağa writes that 1,200 purses were consumed for the complex, but this must be an approximation: Silahdar, *Nusretname*, Vol. 2, p. 269.

22. Neftçi, 'Üsküdar Yeni Valide', pp. 153–4.

23. Silahdar, *Nusretname*, Vol. 2, p. 269; and Neftçi, 'Üsküdar Yeni Valide', pp. 153–5, 158.

24. TSMA E. 0101 0002 025.

25. Another document (TSMA E. 0101 002 036) gives the reconnaissance survey for the waterways, which was estimated to cost 11,069 *guruş* and 70 akçe from the source in Haydarpaşa Garden. Apparently, this source was carried further or extended later to Validebağ.

26. Saadi Nazım Nirven, *İstanbul Suları* (Istanbul: Halk Basımevi, 1946), p. 223. Kâzım Çeçen gives the map of the waterways, which has a length of 2300 m in galleries and 600 m in pipes: Kâzım Çeçen, *İstanbul'un Osmanlı Dönemi Suyolları* (Istanbul: İSKİ, 1999), pp. 216–17.

27. BOA İE. EV. 50 5600.

28. Türk İslam Eserleri Müzesi, no. 2386, cited in Ayşegül Nadir (ed.), *Osmanlı Padişah Fermanları* (London: 1986), p. 109.

29. BOA İE. EV. 54 5948. The source of the water was Demirci Mustafa *suyu* in Bulgurlu village near Çamlıca Hill and it was passing through Nureddin Çayırı and Gafur Pınarı.

30. Muzaffer Erdoğan, *Lale Devri Baş Mimarı Kayserili Mehmed Ağa* (Istanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1962), pp. 1–8. According to Erdoğan, Mehmed Ağa was first appointed to the post of royal chief architect in 1705–6, but he was replaced by İbrahim Ağa in early 1706. He was again appointed the same post in 3 February

1709, and finally famed as the 'Sadabad Architect', as he was responsible of the construction of nonextant Sadabad palaces, cascades and pools built in 1722–3.

31. Deniz Mazlum gives the archival documents which are attesting that İbrahim Ağa, El-Hac Ahmed Ağa and Ali Ağa were consecutive chief royal architects between 1708–14, and Mehmed Ağa was in that post only by 1714: Deniz Mazlum, *1766 İstanbul Depremi: Belgeler Işığında Yapı Onarımları* (Istanbul: Suna ve İnan Kıraç Vakfı İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2011), p. 32. On the other hand, Nadide Seçkin claims that the complex was built while Architect Bekir was in charge as *subaşı*: Nadide Seçkin, 'Yeni Valide Külliyesi', *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı and Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), Vol. 7, p. 469.

32. First gate: main gate, *imaret* (soup kitchen) gate, *mektep* (primary school) gate, Balaban gate; second gate: *arasta* or *bedesten* gate (since it was opened into covered market); third gate: *bit pazarı* (flea market) gate (since it was opposite to old flea market), *sebil* (water dispenser) gate, royal gate; fourth gate: bazaar gate (since it was opened to the bazaar); fifth gate: masjid gate (due to Geredeli Masjid), imam gate (due to İmam Nasır's fountain), *uncular* (flour makers) or *değirmen* (mill) gate (due to an old flour mill). Mehmet Nermi Haskan, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar*, 3 vols (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi Yayınları, 2001), pp. 1, 379.

33. Doğan Kuban states that it was a building of the late classical age, when the Tulip Period's artistic tendencies have not observed yet, and the effects of the 'Sinan school' still lingered (Doğan Kuban, *Osmanlı Mimarisi*, [Istanbul: YEM Yayın, 2007], p. 384). Godfrey Goodwin affirms that it carries on the tradition, though it falls behind the previous mosques as its recessions of windows and doors are less than them (Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (Londra: Thames & Hudson, 1971), p. 365).

34. In fact, this was a water tank only to fill the courtyard with the sound of pouring water and supply water for birds as observed from early photographs, but it was later transformed into an ablutions fountain by adding taps and seating.

35. Gülru Necipoğlu observes that mosques usually built for lower rank statesmen featured five bay porticos, whereas imperial mosques had seven or more openings for latecomers. Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), p. 340.

36. For a transliteration of this inscription and other inscriptions

on portals, fountains, water dispenser and ablutions fountain, see http://www.ottomaninscriptions.com/information.aspx?ref=list&bid=1001&hid=1129.

37. Godfrey Goodwin argues that this gate removes the traditional use of iwan-like portals giving the buildings a Middle Age atmosphere. Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, p. 366.

38. Accordingly, Rüstem Pasha's mosque, with the same plan type, has a ratio of diameter/height of dome equal to 0.66 while it is 0.60 for Üsküdar Yeni Valide Mosque. Doğan Kuban argues that the tendency to build mosques with greater height proportions started with Gülnuş Sultan's mosque (Kuban, *Osmanlı Mimarisi*, p. 384). However, Eminönü New Mosque of Turhan Sultan has a dome diameter/height ratio of 0.49, while the same ratio for Şehzade Mehmed Mosque is 0.51 and that of Sultan Ahmed Mosque is 0.57, all of which have a similar plan type (Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, 'The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex at Eminönü, Istanbul,' PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1994, p. 106). Therefore, it can be claimed that this tendency in fact started with Eminönü New Mosque, which has a vertical emphasis that is apparent from its exterior.

39. Kuban, *Osmanlı Mimarisi*, pp. 386n14.

40. Sultanahmet Mosque, Eminönü New Mosque and Üsküdar Çinili Mosque feature enormous use of İznik tiles in red and blue, before the decline of the famous workshops. On the other hand, the barely used tiles which adorn Üsküdar Yeni Valide Mosque were probably supplied from the workshops in Kütahya or Tekfur Palace: Oktay Aslanapa, *Osmanlılar Devrinde Kütahya Çinileri* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1949), p. 111; Latife Aktan, 'Üsküdar'da Çini Süslemeli Camiler', in *1. Üsküdar Sempozyumu Bildirileri (23–25 Mayıs 2003)* (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2004), Vol. 2, p. 109.

41. For a discussion of the power of 'royal gaze', see Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kadın Baniler; Hadice Turhan Sultan* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009), pp. 254–62 and 308n17.

42. Kethüda Mehmed Ağa's fountain in Süleymaniye near Dökmeciler Bath dated to AH 1120 (1708/1709) also features a shell motif and muqarnas borders on three sides, but lacks the flowers in vases and fruits in baskets: İbrahim Hilmi Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri I: İstanbul Ciheti* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1943), pp. 326–7. Moreover, another fountain located inside Topkapı Palace also makes use of a shell motif and might be

dated even a few years earlier: Tarkan Okçuoğlu, 'Topkapı Sarayı, Hasekiler Dairesi'nde Yeni Bulunan Bir Çeşme', *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 21 (2012), pp. 89–114.

43. Shrine Hamadeh, 'Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul', *Muqarnas* 19 (2002), p. 132.

44. Those complexes were usually built by viziers on Divanyolu, and generally including madrasa, tomb, water dispenser, and fountain. Zeynep Nayır, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi ve Sonrası* (Istanbul: İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 1975), pp. 170–94.

45. TSMA E. 3941/1–2.

46. The tomb of Malkoçoğlu Mehmed Bey in Gebze (1385) and that of Devlet Hatun, wife of Bayezid I, in Bursa (1414) could be taken as the earliest examples of open tombs, but they were not as transparent as the tomb of Gülnuş Sultan (Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1966), 303–304; and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri İlk Devri* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1972), 132–5). On the other hand, another royal woman's tomb in Üsküdar, that of Fatma Hanımsultan, dated to 1727, and Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's tomb in Divanyolu, rebuilt in 1871, had obviously taken Gülnuş Sultan's tomb as an example (Tülay Sezgin, 'Üsküdar'daki Hatun Türbeleri', in *1. Üsküdar Sempozyumu Bildirileri (23–25 Mayıs 2003)* (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2004), Vol. 2, p. 143; and S. Murat Topçu, '17. Yüzyılın kinci Yarısında Etkin Bir Bani Ailesi: Köprülüler', PhD dissertation, Erciyes University, 2010, p. 138).

47. VGMA, register no. 1640, 34.

48. The inscription on the head stone also conveys the message that Gülnuş Sultan gave her life as a sacrifice when the Ottoman army returned triumphantly from Morea: Sadi S. Kucur, 'Üsküdar Yeni Valide Cami Haziresi Mezar Taşları', *4. Üsküdar Sempozyumu Bildirileri (3–5 Kasım 2006)* (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2007), p. 231.

49. One of the two recent studies dealing with the architecture of Üsküdar Yeni Valide Complex has ignored this element (Akbulut, *Üsküdar Yeni Cami ve Külliyesi*) while the other claimed that it was a part of royal pavilion (Murat Kalafat, 'Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan'ın Baniliği,' Master's thesis, Erciyes University, 2011). Other studies also ignored this room, which is nowadays used by the mosque's association and closed to the public.

50. A note on the first page of a book endowed by Kethüda Mehmed Efendi gives the name of this room as '*türbe odası*', that is, tomb [-keeper's] room, and stipulates the use of the book only within this room: Süleymaniye Library, Gülnuş Valide Sultan Collection, no. 63.

51. Süleymaniye Library, Gülnuş Valide Sultan Collection, no. 2. For a list of these books with their names, authors, dates and subjects, see Berksan, *II. Mustafa ve III. Ahmet'in Valideleri*, pp. 15–20.

52. VGMA, register no. 1640, 38.

53. An archival document dated to AH 11 Rebiyülevvel 1276 (8 October 1859) gives the cost of the repair of the timekeeper's place as 8,671.5 *guruş*, and this could well be the year it was added to the complex or rebuilt (BOA İ. DH. 444 29346).

54. *Mahya*: oil lamps placed between the minarets of mosques on the nights of religious celebrations.

55. A similar implementation could be observed in Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha Complex (1735) with the placement of the library on top of the entrance gate to the courtyard.

56. Although this vaulted rectangular element of the complex is currently used as the gasilhane, that is, the room for keeping and washing dead bodies before funeral, it might well have been the water reservoir of the southwest fountain.

57. *Arasta*: A series of shops facing each other and forming a line trough a covered passage; covered market.

58. VGMA, register no. 1640, 35.

59. Ibid., 43. The first house had four upper storey rooms, two anterooms as well as a toilet, a well and a garden while the second one had four upper storey rooms and one anteroom as well as a toilet, a kitchen and a courtyard on a land measuring 154 *zira*.

60. TSMA E. 0101 0002 015; VGMA, register no. 1640, 27–45. This condition was also stipulated in the testament of Gülnuş Sultan and waqfiyya of the mosque. However, it lost its original function in the early twentieth century with other soup kitchens in Istanbul: Pınar Sürmen, 'Laleli Külliyesi İmareti Restorasyon Projesi,' Master's thesis, Istanbul Technical University, 2005, p. 18.

61. The repair took place in AH 1113 (1701–2). Uppsala University Library, Fol. 642, Zetterstéen Catalogue 670, 30v.

62. Ercan Alan, '95 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri,' Master's thesis,

Marmara University, 2008, pp. xxiii–xxxiv.

63. TSMA E. 79/9. This document is a building register which gives the kinds and quantity of the construction items as well as the wages of the workers.

64. TSMA E. 79/11.

Chapter 8 Building Activities of Ottoman Sultanas after Gülnu Sultan

1. Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları* (Istanbul: Oğlak Yayınları, 2008), pp. 301–304.

2. Kazım Çeçen, 'Üsküdar Suları', *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2009), Vol. 42, p. 375.

3. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, pp. 302–303.

4. VGMA, register no. 638, 42.

5. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, pp. 287–8.

6. VGMA, register no. 638, 43/1.

7. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, p. 290.

8. M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2001), pp. 95–6. For the attribution of fountain in Galata, see Chapter 6.

9. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın* Sultanları, pp. 327–30.

10. Ayşe Hilal Uğurlu, 'III. Selim'in İstanbulu: Siyasi ve Askeri Dönüşümler Işığında İmar Faaliyetleri,' PhD dissertation, Istanbul Technical University, 2012, pp. 69, 177, 273–88.

11. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın* Sultanları, p. 336.

12. For more insight on Mihrişah Sultan's building activities that reinforced Selim III's political and military agenda, see Ayşe Hilal Uğurlu, 'Siyâsî Bir Projenin İzinde Bânilik: Mihrişah Vâlide Sultan'ın Îmar Faaliyetlerini Yeniden Okumak', *Belleten* LXXX/287 (April 2016), pp. 85–101.

13. Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), vol. 1, pp. 3–6,

14. Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 49.

15. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın* Sultanları, p. 355; and İbrahim Hilmi Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri I: İstanbul Ciheti* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1943), Vol. 1, p. 250,

16. İbrahim Pazan, *Padişah Anneleri* (Istanbul: Babıali Kültür Yayıncılık, 2007), pp. 126–7.

17. Hale Tokay, 'Nakşıdil Sultan Külliyesi', *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı and Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), vol. 6, p. 41.

18. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın* Sultanları, p. 357.

19. VGMA, register no. 745, 291/97.

20. Yasemin Suner, 'Şebsafa Kadın Camii ve Sıbyan Mektebi', *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı and Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), vol. 7, p. 41.

21. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, p. 364.

22. Ibid., p. 377.

23. Ibid., pp. 377–8.

24. Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 64–8.

25. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın* Sultanları, p. 387.

26. Belgin Demirsar, 'Bezmialem Valide Sultan Çeşmesi', *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı and Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 225–7.

27. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, p. 388.

28. VGMA, register no. 634. This endowment deed contains the original waqfiyya and 13 postscripts.

29. Afife Batur, 'Dolmabahçe Camii', *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı and Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), vol. 3, p. 88.

30. Necdet Sakaoğlu, 'Abdülaziz', *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı and Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), vol. 1, pp. 22–6.

31. Pazan, *Padişah Anneleri*, pp. 134–5.

32. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın* Sultanları, p. 396.

33. Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, p. 122.

34. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın* Sultanları, pp. 418–40; and Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, pp. 139–50.

35. Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın* Sultanları, pp. 423–6.

36. Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, pp. 58–65.

37. M. Baha Tanman, 'Bâlâ Külliyesi', *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı and Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 6–7.

Chapter 9 A Comparison: Where do the Buildings of Gülnu Sultan Stand within Ottoman Architecture?

1. See notes 42 and 43 in Chapter 7.

2. For an extensive survey of Ottoman baroque, see Ayda Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci* (Istanbul: İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1975). Also see Doğan Kuban, *Osmanlı Barok Mimarisi Hakkında Bir Deneme* (Istanbul: İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1954).

3. These books were mainly on religious subjects, that is, on the essence of Qur'an or hadiths, but there were also others from various subjects, including history and logic. For the names, authors, dates and subjects of these books, which are now kept in Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, see Emine Berksan, 'II. Mustafa ve III. Ahmet'in Valideleri Emetullah Gülnuş Sultan ve Vakıfları,' Master's thesis, Istanbul University, 1998, pp. 15–20.

4. Besides her correspondence with foreign sovereigns such as King of Sweden or Khan of Crimea, she composed (or dictated) letters to other state officials. For an example of these letters, see her letter to a newly appointed grand vizier: TSMA E. 0039/18 (E. 79–17).

5. Lucienne Thys-Şenocak wrote: 'The lack of certain types of archival sources such as building plans, architectural treatises, and direct orders from the patron, which often exist for building projects in early modern Europe, do make the questions concerning the link between the Ottoman patron and the project more of a challenge to answer.' Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), p. 14.

6. For an example of this, see TSMA E. 0101 0002 006.

7. Affan Egemen, for instance, even names the second fountain adjacent to Galata New Mosque as Ahmed Han III Fountain, attributing it to Gülnuş's then reigning son: Affan Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri* (Istanbul: Arıtan Yayınevi, 1993), p. 76.

8. TSMA E. 0101 0002 005.

9. See Appendix 3 for the table of Gülnuş Sultan's endowment deeds and their postscripts.

10. For an example of lands that were presented to Gülnuş Sultan by Mustafa II, see BOA AE. SMST. II. 139 15405, where those lands and their yearly incomes are listed.

11. TSMA E. 79/2; TSMA E.0039/13–5.

12. VGMA register no. 1640, 17–20.

13. VGMA register no. 143, 79–89 and register no. 2138, 7–8.

14. TSMA E.0039/13–4.

15. TSMA E. 0101 0002 030. In this archival document, Gülnuş Sultan asks, 'Why is the crop of Ahurkuyu Farm so little as 80,000 *akçe*s?', and the Chamberlain tries to explain the situation by alluding to the expenses of repair. She also sounds dissatisfied in another line of the same document when she states that, '12,000 *akçe*s crop for Sabah and Soğanlı farms is very little.'

16. Salaries of queen mothers were at least double the salaries of favourites. Gülnuş *Valide* Sultan was in receipt of a monthly salary of two purses of gold coins, each containing 45,000 *akçe*s in 1711, and an extra salary of 120,000 *akçe*s from the Imperial Mint, making a total of 210,000 *akçe*s. TSMA D. 2978 and D. 3323 cited in Betül İpşirli-Argıt, *Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan, 1640–1715* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014), p. 75.

17. VGMA register no. 1640, 27–45.

18. VGMA register no. 143, 1–89 and register no. 2138, 1–8.

19. TSMK Y. 3510, 1–34.

20. VGMA register no. 1640, 1–14 and register no. 1641, 1–34.

21. VGMA register no. 1640, 21–3 and register no. 1641, 35–6.

22. VGMA register no. 1640, 17–20, 24–5.

23. BOA MAD 4559/2.

24. As seen in Chapter 8, Pertevniyal Sultan also started construction of a hospital in Medina, but it was halted upon Abdülaziz's deposition, and could only be completed posthumously in 1889, some 13 years later.

25. Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: İstanbul*, eds Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008), Vol. 1, p. 259.

26. In fact, replacing an existing church with a mosque, which may be regarded as an act of Islamization, was not a novel practice in Galata, if previous conversions are taken into account (Rinaldo Marmara, *Bizans'tan Günümüze İstanbul Latin Cemaati ve Kilisesi* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006), pp. 11–44), or was not associated with a conquest for the first time, if previous mosque constructions such as İsmihan Sultan and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Mosque in Kadırga or Mihrimah Sultan Mosque in Edirnekapı are considered (Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural*

Culture in the Ottoman Empire (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), pp. 314, 336). However, the motivation behind those had not been a reflexive substitution of defeats in wars.

27. Themes such as 'cleaning up of a sinful space to replace it with the house of God' appear on the inscription panels and in the waqfiyya of the Galata New Mosque, while Hadice Turhan Sultan's Islamization of Jewish space on the opposite shore of Golden Horn with her mosque some 30 years ago was legitimized in its inscription program with Qur'anic references. Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, 'The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex at Eminönü,' *Muqarnas* 15 (1998), pp. 66–7.

28. These conversions were taking place in the sixteenth century, without a motivation of compensation of defeats on the battlefields. On the other hand, two mosques built in this period, Mihrimah Sultan Mosque in Edirnekapı and İsmihan Sultan and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's Mosque in Kadırga, are related to be replacements of previous churches (Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, pp. 314, 336), where daughters of sultans were involved in those patronages.

29. TSMK E. 3941/1–2.

30. TSMA E. 0101 002 012.

31. The area had since been complemented with building additions from Gülfem, Nurbanu and Kösem sultans.

32. Zeynep Nayır, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi ve Sonrası (1609–1690)* (Istanbul: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi, 1975).

33. Besides her special residents in Topkapı and Edirne palaces, Gülnuş Sultan also had apartments in Beşiktaş Palace, in Çatalca, in Sütlüce, in Belgrat Village, and a seaside palace in Eyüp. MAD d. 5187, MAD d. 5065 cited in İpşirli-Argıt, *Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan*, p. 63.

34. Pınar Kayaalp-Aktan, 'The Atik Valide Mosque Complex: A Testament of Nurbanu's Prestige, Power and Piety,' PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2005, p. 192.

Chapter 10 Epilogue: Determinants of Ottoman Royal Women's Building Activities

1. This monograph excluded the sisters and daughters of sovereigns in order to concentrate on favourites (wives) and mothers of the sultans.

2. Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 127–30.

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Register no. 745, 291/97.



Plate 1 Gülnuş Sultan, labelled as ‘Evmenia La femme Dv Sultan Mehemmed IIII’ in an anonymous nineteenth-century painting, with her jewelled crest and costume embellished with pearls and rubies (Topkapı Palace Museum Portraits Collection, 17/44).



Plate 2 View of the Dominican Church of St. Nicholas from the east, showing main body of the building that once housed the mosque of Haseki Sultan (author's photograph, 2012).



Plate 3 Yalakabad Bridge, seen from the north-east, is the largest bridge constructed by Gülnuş Sultan between Hersek and Boyalıca, and it is the best surviving one among twelve bridges (author's photograph, 2013).

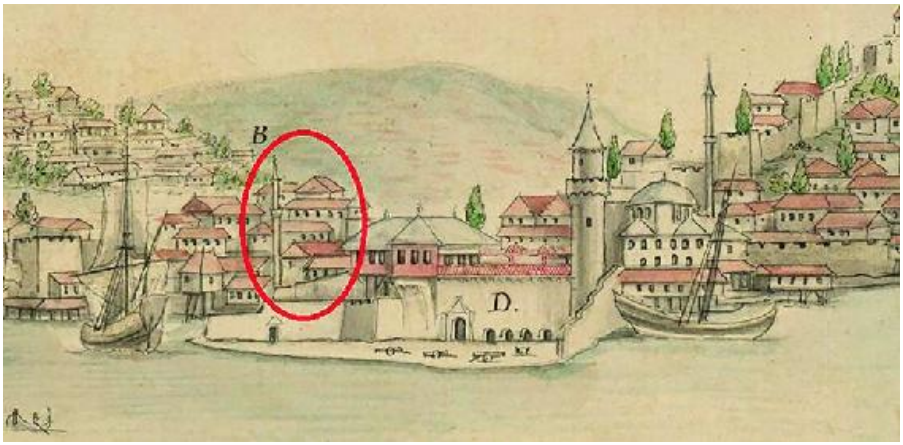


Plate 4 This detail from Dessonville's *Vue de Pera, Galata et d'unepartie de Constantinople* (1721) gives probably the earliest visual depiction of Galata New Mosque, with its hipped roof and single minaret seen to the left of the Leaded Magazine, as identified by the author. It was drawn from an angle facing towards the Golden Horn and Galata from the shores of today's Karaköy pier, and the domed mosque to the right is Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Pasha Mosque (© Bibliothèque nationale de France).

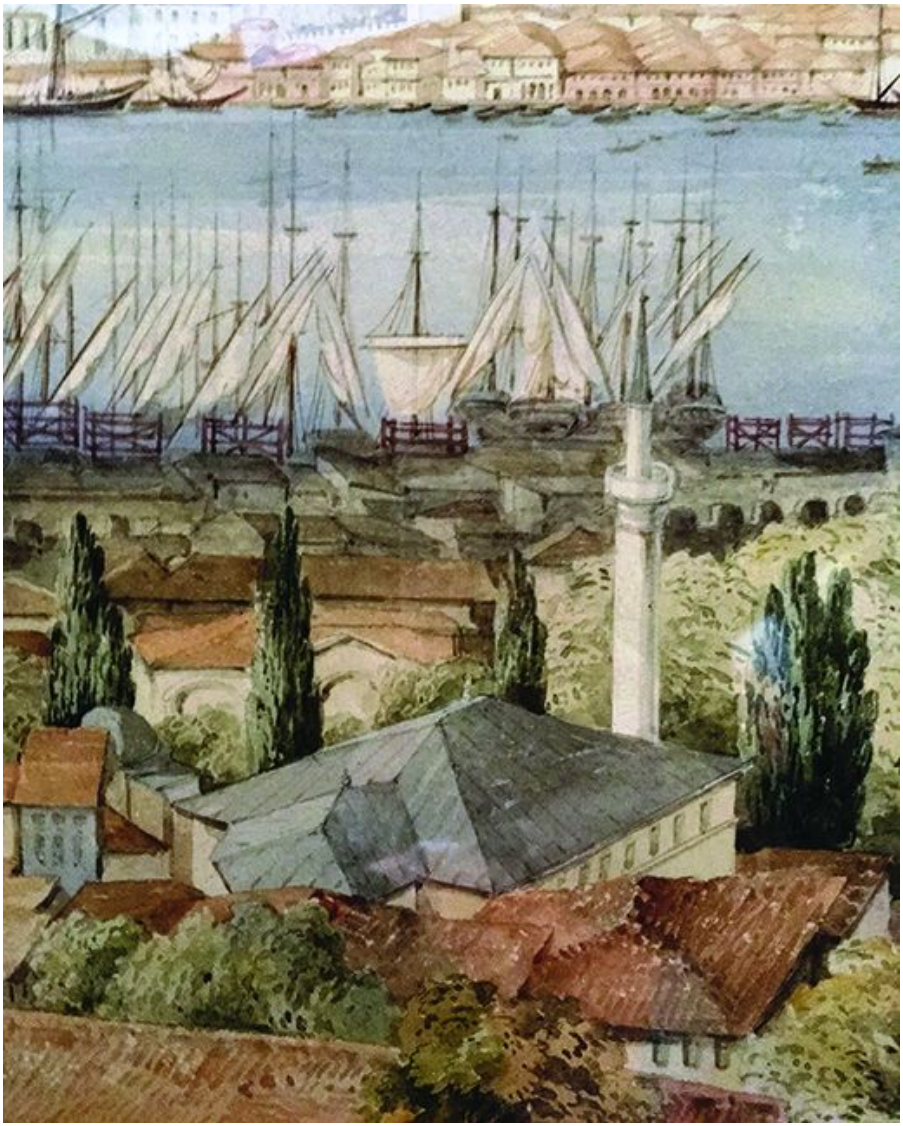


Plate 5 This detail from Henry Aston Barker's *Panorama of Istanbul* (drawn in 1800, published in 1813) gives one of the earliest depictions of Galata New Mosque (courtesy of Istanbul Naval Museum).

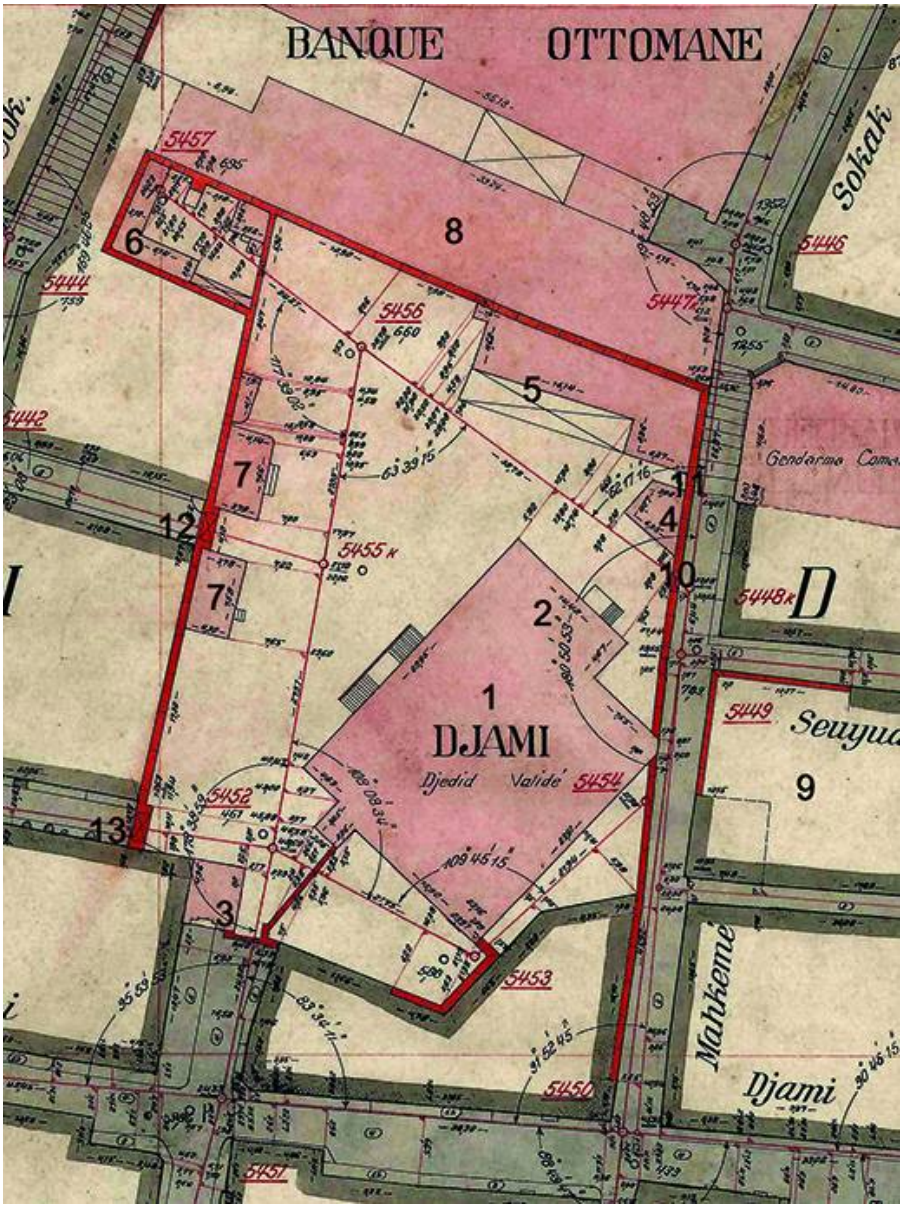


Plate 6 Detail from German Blues Map of 1914 showing Galata New Mosque with its components indicated by the author: 1. mosque, 2. royal pavilion, 3. first fountain and its water reservoir adjacent to the southern main gate, 4. second fountain and its water reservoir, 5. ablution fountains and their water reservoir, 6. latrines, 7. two houses allocated to imams (?), 8. seven two-storied rent houses (?), 9. Kethüda Mehmed Efendi's hadith madrasa and primary school, 10. eastern gate, 11. auxiliary eastern gate, 12. northwestern gate, 13. western gate (courtesy of Istanbul Atatürk Library).

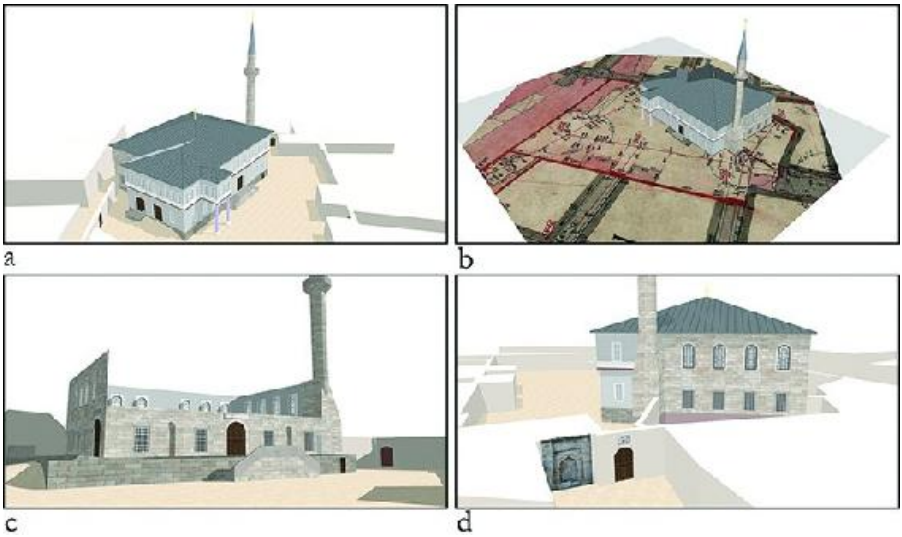


Plate 7 Partly conjectural reconstruction of Galata New Mosque's view before its demolition with the help of the available visual and written documents: a. view from the north, b. view from the west, mounted on German Blues Map's layout, c. view from the north-west, with only ashlar masonry parts of the mosque, d. view from the south, with the inscription panel above the main gate and southern fountain in its original position (the author thanks Michael Athanson, who generously created these 3D reconstructions).



Plate 8 Gülnuş Sultan's fountain with a prayer platform in Edirne (author's photograph, 2013).



Plate 9 Üsküdar Yeni Valide Mosque from the west (author's photograph, 2011).

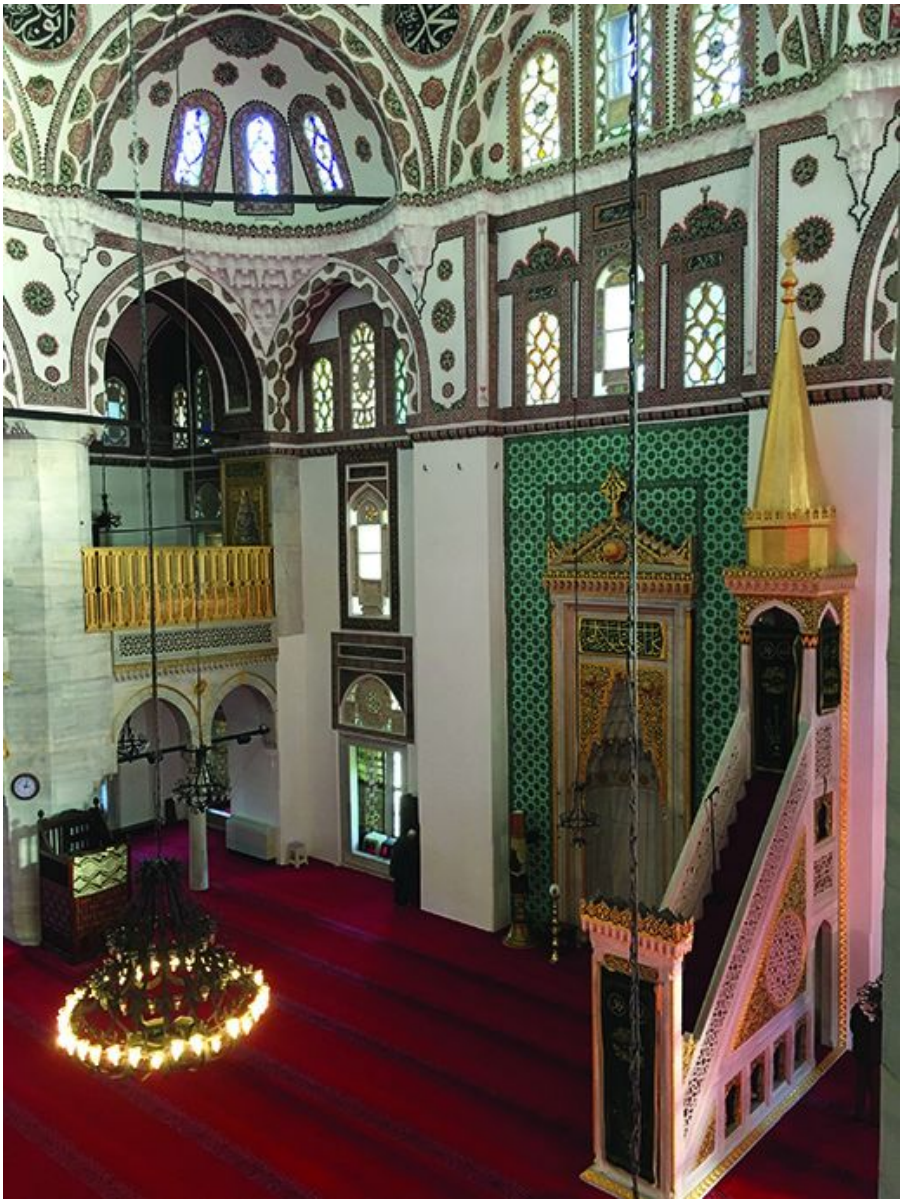


Plate 10 Interior view of Üsküdar New Mosque looking towards the royal platform (author's photograph, 2016).

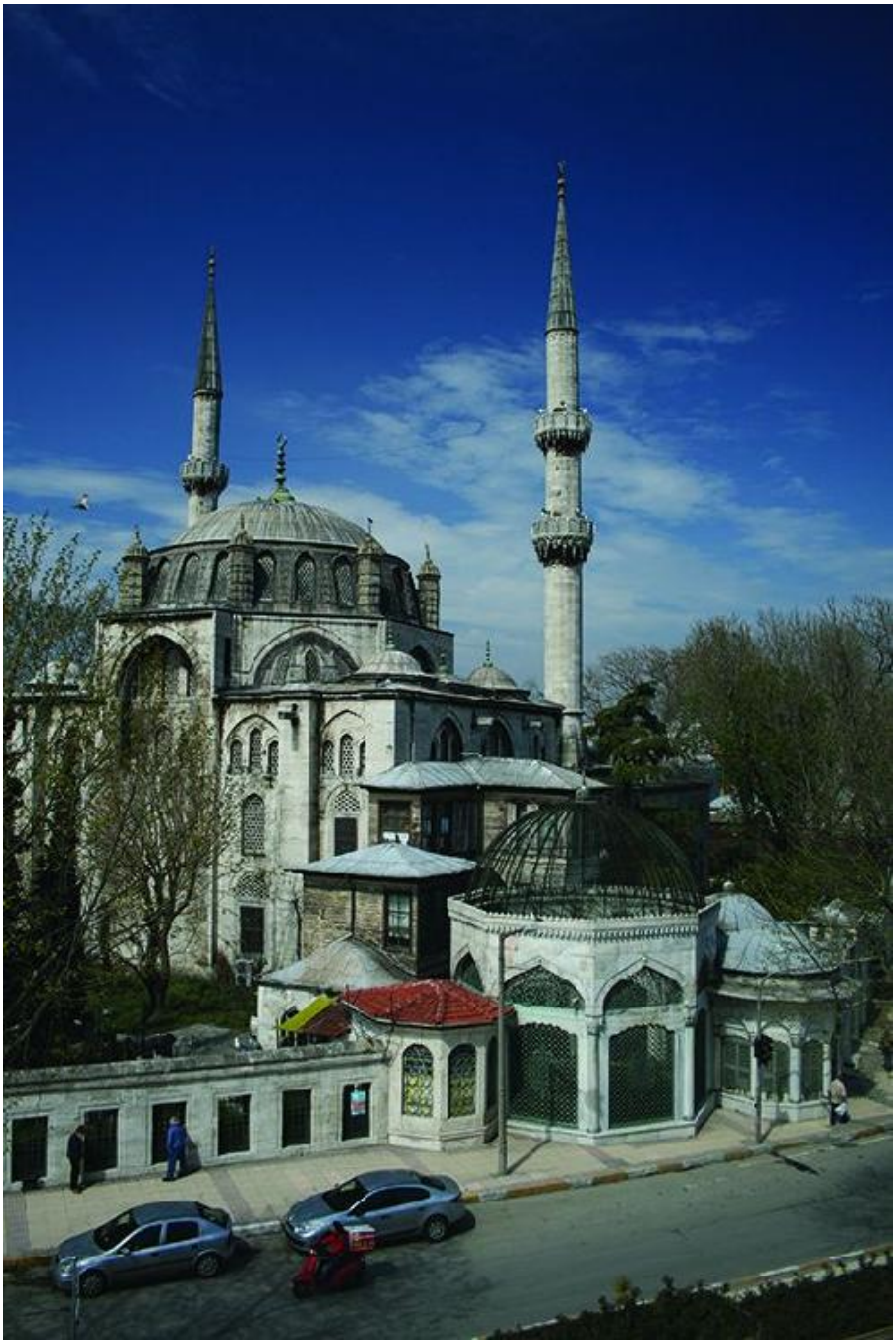


Plate 11 The water dispenser, tomb of Gülnuş Sultan and timekeeper's place located on the north-west corner of the complex, with the royal pavilion, tomb-keeper's room and mosque behind them (author's photograph, 2012).



Plate 12 Mihrişah Sultan's complex in Eyüp: water dispenser, fountain, soup kitchen and tomb (author's photograph, 2016).



Plate 13 Bezmialem Sultan Mosque with Dolmabahçe Palace in the background (author's photograph, 2009).

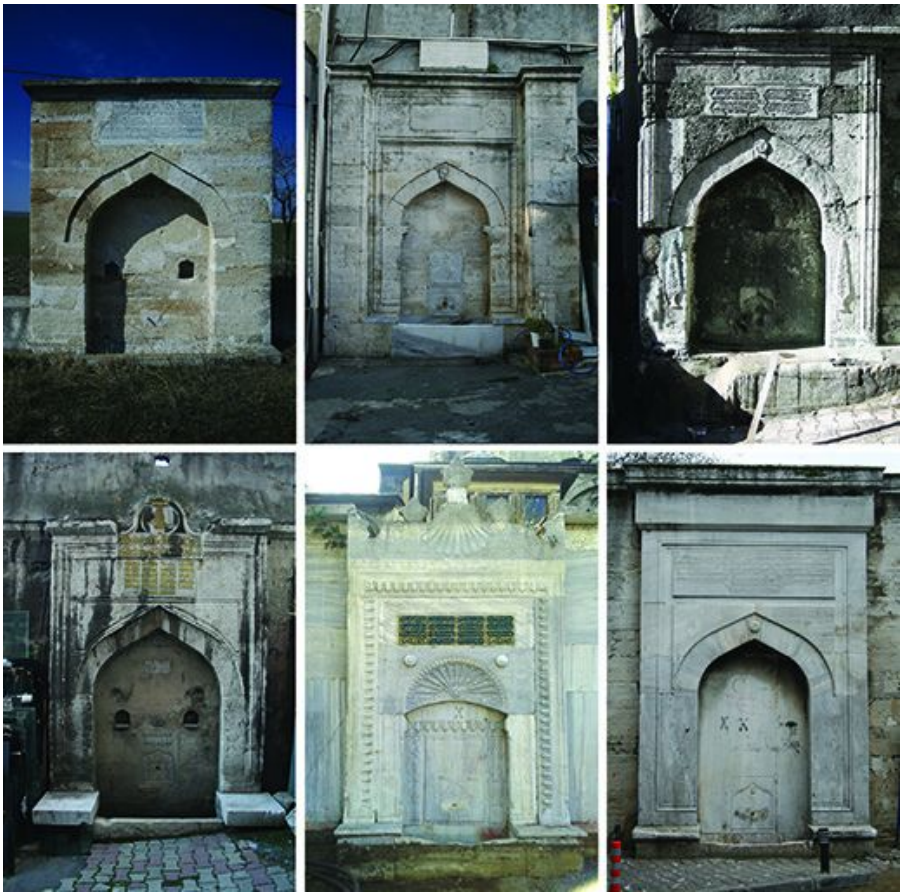


Plate 14 Gülnuş Sultan's fountains in Edirne (top left), Galata (top middle, top right, bottom left), and Üsküdar (bottom middle, bottom right) dated to 1696, 1698, 1699, 1706, 1709 and 1709 from left to right (author's photographs, not to scale).



Plate 15 Dessonville's *Vue de Scutari : Eloigné d'une lieue à l'est* (1721) gives probably the earliest visual depiction of Üsküdar Yeni Valide Mosque, only ten years after its completion, and depicts it as the central gem of the town at a proximity to the Bosphorus shore, while it also shows earlier mosques of the town: Mihrimah Sultan's, to its left; Nurbanu Sultan's up hill, on its back; Şemsi Ahmed Pasha's, to its right, on the shore; Rum Mehmed Pasha's, further its right (© Bibliothèque nationale de France).



Plate 16 Left to right: Bereketzade fountain of Saliha Sultan (1732), one of the fountains of Mihrişah Sultan's complex in Eyüp (1795) and Bezmialem Sultan's fountain in Maçka, Istanbul (1839) (author's photographs, 2016, 2010, 2016).